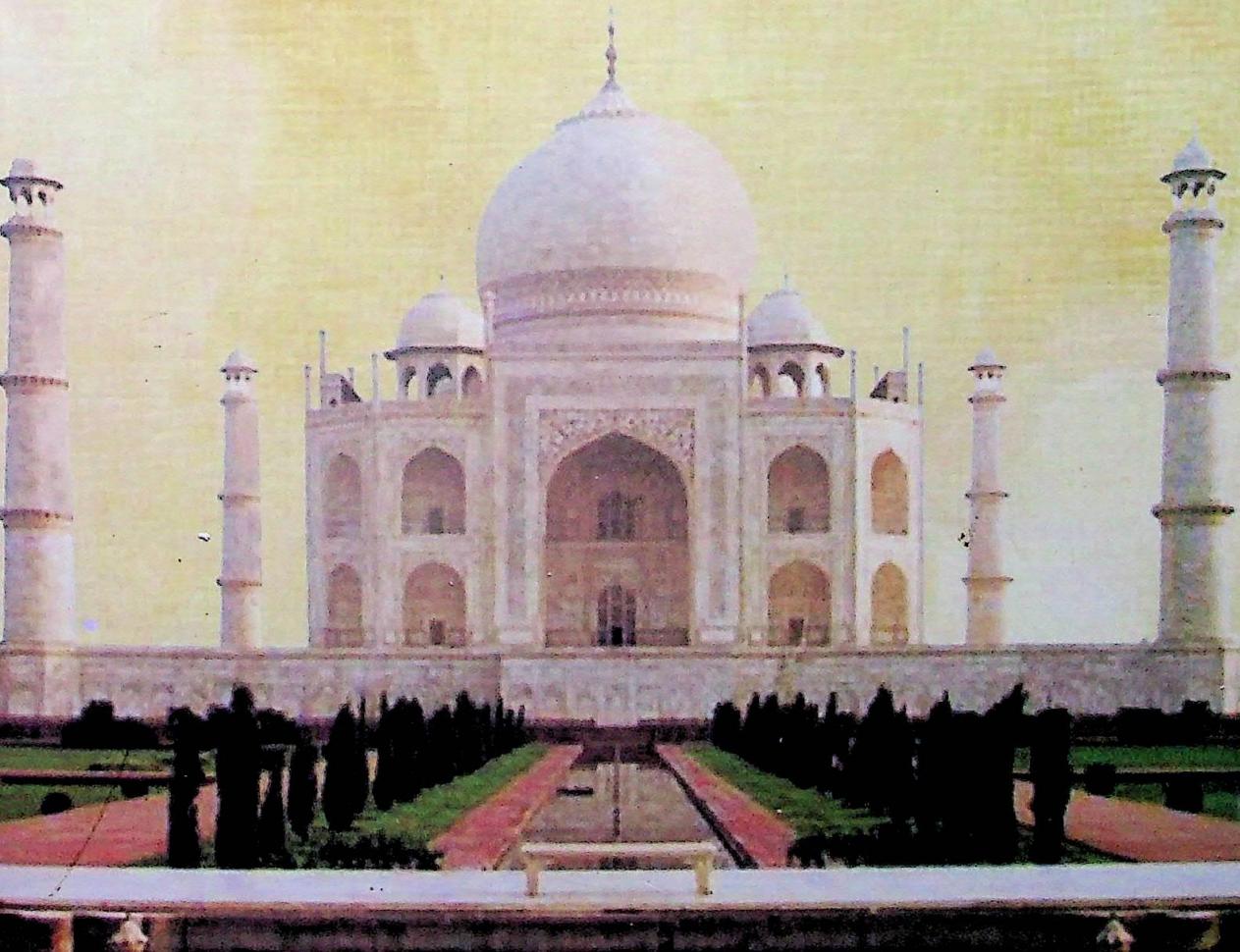


The India They Saw

Foreign Accounts : 16th-17th Centuries

Edited by
Meenakshi Jain



The arrival of Vasco da Gama on the western coast of India, near Calicut, on 27 May 1498, heralded the restoration of Europe's links with the subcontinent after an interval of almost eight centuries. With his landing, India became accessible to Portuguese conquistadors, traders, travellers, scholars and clergymen. The sixteenth century could, in a sense, be termed the Portuguese century, for no European power could challenge its mastery of the sea route to India.

The defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 by Holland and England, however, signaled the end of this monopoly and in 1595, the first Dutch fleet entered the Indian Ocean. In the seventeenth century, the Dutch, with their British camp followers, seriously undermined the Portuguese. The French also entered the Indian trade in the second half of this century.

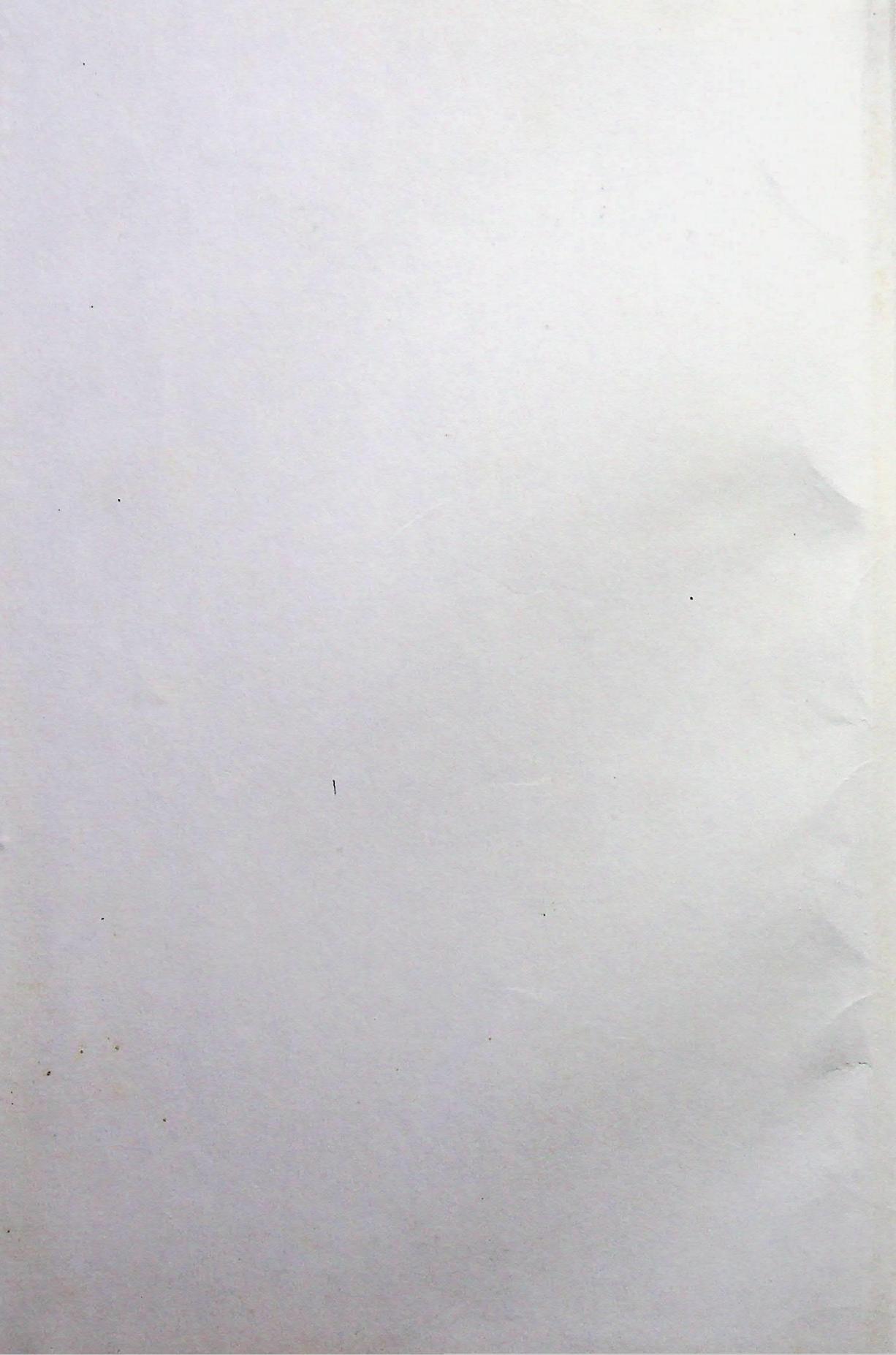
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This volume confines itself to European writings of sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It does not claim to be exhaustive but presents glimpses of the Indian reality as recorded by contemporary European visitors. Only English translations have been used. A sizeable number of accounts in European languages still await translation.

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(Volume III)

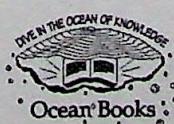


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Publisher's Note

In the year 2004, on returning from South East Asia, Nobel Prize recipient, Sir Vidia Naipaul requested us to arrange a meeting with a group of Delhi based thinkers to share the impressions of his visit. He was simply overwhelmed with what he saw in South East Asian countries like Indonesia, Thailand, Cambodia etc. We hurriedly, invited about twenty people to a get together with Sir Vidia. The meeting held on June 15, 2004 was attended by Sarva Shri Dinanath Mishra, Balbir Punj, Brij Kishore Sharma, Shankar Saran, Meenakshi Jain, Sandhya Jain, Ram Madhav, Devendra Swarup and some others. Sir Vidia described how he was astonished to see deep Indian cultural influence in the region not only in the past but even today. He felt sad that present day Indians appeared to have little recollection of the grandeur of their ancient civilization and its lasting contribution to the world civilization. He felt strongly that it would be a worth while endeavour to prepare a compendium of foreign perceptions of India down the ages.

During later discussions, it was decided that the project would cover the period from earliest times up to the mid-nineteenth century, the changed sensibility towards India thereafter consequent to the establishment of the British Colonial rule, being well known. The present volumes are the result of these deliberations.

We are thankful to Sandhya Jain and Meenakshi Jain for agreeing to take up the project despite their other professional commitments and completing it so meticulously. We are grateful to Prof. Devendra Swarup for having agreed to coordinate the project till its fruition. Sandhya Jain compiled and edited the material for the first volume, while Meenakshi Jain prepared the remaining three volumes. Both of them have recorded their experiences and impressions in detailed Introductions to their respective volumes separately.

We wish to place on record our heartfelt gratefulness to Sir Vidia for not only conceiving the project, but also for painstakingly going through volumes I and III and making many valuable suggestions which the editors have attempted to incorporate. We feel indebted to Prof. Lokesh Chandra and Dr. B.M. Pande

attempted to incorporate. We feel indebted to Prof. Lokesh Chandra and Dr. B.M. Pande for their valuable contribution in the preparation of the first volume. We are highly grateful to Prof. Devendra Swarup, without whose continuous active guidance and involvement, this ambitious project would not have seen the light of the day.

We are conscious that many other compilations of foreign accounts on India are already available, but we do feel that this series of four volumes will add much to the present knowledge of our readers in this area and also pave the way for publication of many other volumes based on the first hand study of the original sources in foreign languages other than English as, it was painfully discovered during the preparation of these volumes that most of the material still lies untranslated into English, which is the only window available to most of the Indian Scholars. With this Note, we offer these volumes to our readers and cordially invite their comments and suggestions, which would help us to improve the quality of the later editions.

Introduction

The arrival of Vasco da Gama on the western coast of India, near Calicut, on 27 May 1498, heralded the restoration of Europe's links with the subcontinent after an interval of almost eight centuries. The links, which could be traced back to the days of Alexander the Great, and even earlier to Harappan times, had been ruptured in the medieval era with the establishment of Arab control over the land and sea routes to India. The Arab monopoly of routes prompted Europe to embark on a centuries-long quest to re-establish contact with India, which reached its fruition with Vasco da Gama's landing.

India's communication with the Western world in ancient times had been through both land and sea. The land routes traversed the Khyber and Kurrum passes in the north-west (known as the *Uttarapath*) and meandered along the Makran Coast in the south-west. The former route, passing through Persia and Central Asia, ended at Constantinople on the Baltic Sea, the latter via Mesopotamia terminated at Syria on the eastern Mediterranean coast.

Indian traders using the sea route through the Persian Gulf would unload their wares on the northern tip of the Gulf from where these would be carried through Syria to the ports of Tyre and Acre on the eastern Mediterranean coast. Goods transported through the Red Sea were offloaded on the eastern coast of Egypt and taken to the ports of Alexandria and Carthage on the southern Mediterranean coast. Alexandria and Carthage were, in fact, the principle transit points for trade between India and Europe.

Available evidence indicates that at the outset only Indian ships sailed the Indian Ocean, crossing the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. It was only after the discovery of the direction of the south-west summer monsoon by the Greek, Hippalus, on the eve of the Christian era, that Roman ships began visiting Indian shores.

Rome imported a variety of goods from India, including Kashmiri wool, musk, ivory and precious stones. Roman moralists expressed exasperation at the vast sums spent on procuring these items of luxury. But the items most in demand were silk and spices, the staples of the land and sea trade respectively.

Pepper had become an essential in European cookery and was also used in the preparation of medicines and drugs. Pliny remarked, "It is quite surprising that the use of pepper has come so much into fashion ..."

Trade also promoted cultural exchange, which was particularly marked in the realms of philosophy, religion and language as testified by Greek and Roman writers. Modern scholarship noted with wonder the similarities between Greek, Latin and Sanskrit. A positive image of India was created in the European mind.

The advent of Islam and the attendant era of Arab expansion dramatically altered the world scenario. The Arabs conquered Baghdad in A.D. 634, Syria in A.D. 636, Persia between A.D. 636 and 650, Egypt in A.D. 642 and Carthage on the northern Africa coast in A.D. 698. In A.D. 711, they crossed the Gulf of Gibraltar and entered the Iberian Peninsula. By A.D. 827, they had entrenched themselves in Sicily and some years later even plundered Rome.

The seizure of the ports of Alexandria and Carthage, the Gulf of Gibraltar and the island of Sicily converted the Mediterranean into an Arab lake. The spree of conquests from Spain to India enabled the Arabs to link the two major economic units of the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean and dominate all the important maritime and caravan routes.

European traders in cities like Venice, Genoa, Florence, Pisa and Milan suddenly found themselves at the mercy of Arab traders, who demanded exorbitant sums for Eastern goods. European consumers also began to feel the impact of the sharp escalation in prices, particularly of spices that could be obtained only from India and Indonesia. 'Pepper,' as a scholar observed, "may not mean much to us, but in that age it ranked with precious stones. Men risked the perils of the deep and fought and died for pepper." The spice trade became the chief determinant in the politics of the Levant and was the single most powerful stimulant in European expansion in the fifteenth century. India was the destination that fired European mercantile ambitions in the Age of Discovery.

The conflict between Europe and the Arabs was, however, not confined to the field of commerce. It had a religious dimension as well. Islamic expansion posed a serious threat to Christianity, which, by the seventh century, had been able to extend its sway only over Southern and Western Europe, North Africa and West Asia. By the beginning of the eighth century, the Arabs had dislodged it from North Africa and parts of West Asia, and additionally Islam had advanced up to the Iberian Peninsula in Western Europe. Arab conquests were accompanied by the wholesale conversion of the conquered people and the imposition of Islamic cultural forms. Resistance led to massacres or forced migrations as in the case of the Jews, the Syrian Christians and the Zoroastrians of Iran who fled their homeland and sought shelter in India.

The Christian world at the time of the first Mohammedan invasions was riven with fractiousness. Clergy wrangled with clergy on abstruse points of doctrine and sect persecuted sect with inexhaustible animosity. The two principle branches of the faith were the Orthodox or Eastern Church with its headquarters at Antioch in Syria and the Roman Catholic Church with its centre at Rome. The prolonged struggle for survival against Islam considerably transformed Christianity. Ironically it acquired several traits of its adversary – fanaticism, intolerance, ritualistic rigidity and the recourse to forced conversions.

Both the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches lost considerable territory to Islam, the former, Jerusalem, the birthplace of Jesus, the latter the Iberian Peninsula. To recompense their losses, they attempted to win new adherents in parts of Europe that still adhered to paganism. While the Orthodox Church registered success in Russia and the Slav regions generally, the Roman Catholic Church brought pagan Poland and the northern Germanic tribes into its fold. The new recruits in turn spread Christianity to the Scandinavian countries. In the twelfth century, the Germans and Scandinavians introduced Christianity in the regions around the Baltic Sea, namely Finland, Estonia and Livonia. By the close of the century, the Roman Catholic Church had extended its hold over the entire continent up to the borders of Russia and the Byzantine Empire. Only Lithuania retained its independence and ancient forms of worship.

In the race for expansion, the Roman Catholic Church far outstripped its Orthodox rival, which bore the brunt of Islamic conquests and conversions in West Asia. It was also demoralised by the loss of Jerusalem. The Catholic Pope, on the other hand, could draw on the protection of the Holy Roman Emperor, Charlemagne (768-814) and the monetary support of the wealthy traders of Venice, Genoa, Pisa and Florence. Thus politically and financially empowered, the Pope emerged as the rallying point of the Christian world in its encounter with expansionist Islam.

The excommunication of the Patriarch of the Orthodox Church in A.D. 1054 further undermined the position of the Eastern Church vis-à-vis its Roman counterpart. The defeat of the Byzantine forces by the Muslims in A.D. 1071 compelled the Byzantine Emperor, Alexius Comnenus, in 1094, to propose to the Roman Catholic Pope, Urban II (1088-1099), a joint campaign against Islam.

In response, the Pope, at a Council at Clermont in southern France, gave a call for a holy crusade against Islam. The French, Germans, Englishmen and Normans heeded his call. Merchants from Genoa, Pisa, and elsewhere, hopeful of the reopening of direct trade with India and other Eastern countries, arrived in Constantinople to provide financial assistance. The Emperor promised to make all lands conquered by the knights fiefs of East Rome.

The first Crusade, launched in A.D. 1096, led to the liberation of Jerusalem in A.D. 1099. A Christian kingdom was founded as a fief of the Pope and the Norman, Godfrey of Bouillon, crowned its king. Though plagued by dissensions, it survived for almost a hundred years.

The conquest of the town of Edessa in Asia Minor by the Turks in 1144, which snapped communication lines between the kingdom of Jerusalem and the European countries, precipitated a second Crusade. It, however, ended in failure.

In A.D. 1187, Jerusalem was again lost to Muslim forces led by Sultan Saladin. The news shocked the Christian world, which responded with a fresh Crusade. In all, nine Crusades were waged between A.D. 1096 and 1291, the last one being called off following the death of Louis IX of France in Tunis. The Crusades resulted in neither the liberation of Jerusalem nor the opening of the routes to India.

Though they failed in their objective, the Crusades helped strengthen Papal grip on the Christian population. Besides actively intervening in the political struggles in European countries, Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) asserted the authority of the Church in matters of belief. In A.D. 1209, he sent an army under a papal legate against the Albigenses, a popular group of so-called heretics in southern France who condemned the acquisition of property and several customs regarded as the bedrock of the Church. Most of the sect was destroyed and the survivors dragged before an ecclesiastical tribunal and tortured into admitting their guilt.

The Inquisition, a tribunal entrusted with punishing those charged of heresy, used harshly by Innocent III, was in 1233, turned into a permanent institution by his successor, Pope Gregory IX. Confessions were forcibly extracted from those suspected of non-conformism and they were punished by confiscation of property, imprisonment, exile and even burning at the stake. New militant evangelical orders, such as the Franciscans, the Dominicans and the Carmelites became the principal agents of the Inquisition. The Knights Templars, the Hospitalers and other organisations, founded originally to protect the Holy Land, redirected their activities to the Baltic region to further the writ of Rome by Christianising the area. The Brethren of the Sword was created in 1202 to Christianise Livonia.

Several legends originated in Europe during the Crusades. In the twelfth century, the legend of Prester John gained currency. Prester John was believed to be a powerful Christian king, ruling in a region east of the Muslim world, presumably in India, who could aid the Crusaders in their fight against Islam. The Pope was believed to have received a letter from Prester John in A.D. 1165, promising full co-operation. Marco Polo's travels between A.D. 1271 and 1295 also began to be interpreted as an attempt to establish contact with

Prester John. The story of the Apostle, St. Thomas, who was believed to have come to India in A.D. 52 and created a Christian community on the Kerala coast, also gained wide currency in Europe around this time.

Legends and myth-making notwithstanding, the Crusades failed to notch up any notable victories and the Muslims, in A.D. 1291, captured Acre on the Syrian coast, the last stronghold in the Holy Land. With this were shattered Europe's hopes of reaching India through an eastern route. Genoa and Florence were left with no option but to search for alternative routes to India. In desperation a Genoese navigator, Ugolino de Vivaldo, in 1291 attempted an expedition from Genoa via Gibraltar down the African coast. He was able to cross the Gulf of Gibraltar because of the changed situation in the Iberian Peninsula.

Portugal had emerged as an independent kingdom by A.D. 1179, the port of Lisbon and the Tagus valley had been won from the Muslims in A.D. 1147, and the Spaniards, having taken Valencia on the Mediterranean Sea and Seville in the south, had reached the southern shores of the Iberian Peninsula. With the capture of the Balearic Island and the placement of an Aragon prince on the throne of Sicily in A.D. 1282, the groundwork for European maritime activity had been prepared.

Portugal, with its extensive coastline on the Atlantic, was in the forefront of maritime explorations. Portuguese kings, backed by Genoese and Florentine wealth and navigational expertise and the religious sanction of the Roman Catholic Church, provided energetic leadership. Prompted by religious fervour and the desire for commercial gain, King Diniz (1279-1325) founded the militant Order of Christ and in A.D. 1317, appointed a Genoese, Manoel Pessanha, admiral of the Portuguese navy. Pessanha, aided by other Genoese, laid the foundations of the Portuguese navy. Portugal thus emerged as the heir of the Genoese tradition of navigation and the vanguard of Christianity against Islam.

Prince Henry (1394-1460), whose contributions earned for him the title Navigator, built on these foundations to script the string of Portuguese successes. Fired by a spirit of militant Christian mysticism and an abhorrence of Islam, he believed he was divinely ordained to reach India. In 1415, at the age of 21, he had captured the port of Ceuta on the west coast of Africa, opposite Gibraltar, the very place from which Islam had entered Spain in A.D. 711.

Prince Henry planned to outflank Islam and take Christianity directly to the Indian Ocean. He gathered at his castle on the Cape of Sagres navigators, mathematicians, cartographers and astronomers and collected all available knowledge on the then known lands. His brother, Prince Pedro, travelled over Europe in search of information, even purchasing a copy of Marco Polo's account of his travels, and maps of the known regions of the earth.

Prince Henry realised that to reach the East it was imperative that the African coast be explored. Thus, in 1420 Madeira was discovered, in 1431 the Azores and in 1434, after fourteen attempts, an expedition passed Cape Bajador. Subsequently his ships reached the coast of Guinea and crossed the Equator, a great achievement of Portuguese navigation that made possible the rounding of the Cape and the voyage to India.

With the coast of Africa up to Cape Verde under the control of Prince Henry, his biographer, Gomes de Azurara exulted, "Of a surety I doubt, if since the great power of Alexander and Caesar there hath even been any prince in the world that had set up the marks of his conquest so far from his land." Barely three decades after Prince Henry, in A.D. 1487, Bartholomeu Dias discovered the Cape of Tempests, renamed the Cape of Good Hope, and reached the Indian Ocean. The sea route to India was at last open.

Portuguese preparations for their voyages were meticulously planned and cloaked in secrecy. The details of this story of exploration pursued by three generations of Portuguese kings are not germane to the present purpose. Pertinent are the factors that guided the quest for India – the desire to vanquish Muslim power; to acquire direct access to the spice and textile trade; to spread Christianity and to conquer and colonise the newly discovered areas.

As discussed earlier, the long centuries of confrontation with Islam had radically altered Christianity. Under the leadership of the Roman Catholic Church, which had emerged as the sole leader of Christendom, an aggressive and proselytising Christianity set forth from Europe. Portugal was the champion of this Christianity. In 1420, Prince Henry had acquired the office of apostolic administrator of the Order of Christ. In 1454, he received from Pope Nicholas V the right to all lands discovered up to India. The Papal Bull issued that year explicitly articulated the religious motive behind the venture,

"Our joy is immense to know that our dear son, Henry, Prince of Portugal, following the footsteps of his father of illustrious memory, King John, inspired with a zeal for souls like an intrepid soldier of Christ, has carried into the most distant and unknown countries the name of God and has brought into the Catholic fold the perfidious enemies of God and Christ, such as the Saracens and the Infidels."

Further it stated "After having established Christian families in some of the unoccupied islands of the Ocean and having consecrated churches there for the celebration of Holy Mysteries the Prince, remembering that never within the memory of man had anyone been known to navigate the sea to the distant shores of the Orient, believed that he could give God the best evidence of his submission, if by his effort the Ocean can be made navigable as far as India, which, it is said, is already subject to Christ. If he enters into relations with these people, he will induce them to come to the help of the Christians of the

West against the enemies of the faith. At the same time, he will bring under submission, with the King's permission, the pagans of the countries not yet afflicted with the plague of Islam and give them knowledge of the name of Christ."

The Bull excluded all others from entering the area marked out for Portugal on pain of excommunication. On 13 March 1456, Pope Calixtus III promulgated another Bull confirming the previous grant. It conceded the spiritual jurisdiction over the lands from Cape Nun to India to the Order of Christ. Two subsequent Bulls issued in A.D. 1493 and 1497 also allowed Portugal lands conquered from the unbelievers. Following the discovery of the sea route to India, the Holy See in 1502 honoured the king of Portugal with the title "patron of Catholic missions of the East".

Thus far Portugal had stood alone in the journey of exploration. But in 1469, as a consequence of the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon to Isabella of Castile, the two kingdoms were joined and the modern state of Spain came into being. In 1492, Granada, the last Muslim possessions in Spain, was also vanquished. With a maritime coast now opening on the Atlantic Ocean, Spain joined the race to reach India. In 1492, another Genoese, Christopher Columbus, with Spanish patronage and support, sailed westwards and stumbled upon some unknown island, which he mistook for India. In June 1494, Spain and Portugal signed the Treaty of Tordesilhas whereby a line 370 leagues west of Cape Verde Islands was fixed as demarcating their respective spheres in the newly discovered regions, an agreement confirmed by Pope Alexander VI.

On 8 July 1497, four ships under Vasco da Gama sailed from the harbour of Belam at the mouth of the Tagus. With his landing, India became accessible to Portuguese conquistadors, traders, travellers, scholars and clergymen. The sixteenth century could, in a sense, be termed the Portuguese century, for no European power could challenge its mastery of the sea route to India.

The defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 by Holland and England, however, signaled the end of this monopoly and in 1595, the first Dutch fleet entered the Indian Ocean. In the seventeenth century, the Dutch, with their British camp followers, seriously undermined the Portuguese. The French also entered the Indian trade in the second half of this century.

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seventeenth centuries. It does not claim to be exhaustive but presents glimpses of the Indian reality as recorded by contemporary European visitors. Only English translations have been used. A sizeable number of accounts in European languages still awaits translation.

Select List of Travellers

Pedro Alvares Cabral (Portugal) (1500)*
Ludevico di Varthema (Italy) (1502-1507)
Afonso de Albuquerque (Portugal) (1503)
Tome Pires (Portugal) (1511-1516)
Gaspar Correia (Portugal) (1512-1562)
Andrea Corsali (Italy) (1515)
Duarte Barbosa (Portugal) (1516)
Castanheda Fernao Lopes de (Portugal) (1528-1538)
Garcia da Orta (Portugal) (1534-1568)
Joao do Castro (Portugal) 1538 (Viceroy of Goa, 1545-1548)
Domingo Paes (Portugal) (1520)
Fernao Nuniz (Portugal) (1535)
Francis Xavier (Portugal) (1541)
Camoes (Portugal) 1553
Cesare Federici (Italy) (1565)
Cristovao da Costa (Portugal) (1568-1572)
Diogo do Couto (Portugal) (1559)
Thomas Stephens (England) (1579-1619)
Father Ather Antonio Monserrate (Portugal) (1580)
Fillippo Sasseti (Italy) (1582)
Fr. James Fenico (Capua) (1582-1630)
Ralph Fitch (England) (1583-1591)
Jan Huygen van Linschoten (Holland) (1583-1589)
Jacques de Coutre (Spain) (1592)
Jerome Xavier (Portugal) (1595)
Fray Sebastian Manrique (Portugal) (1604)
Roberto de Nobili (Italy) (1605)
Francois Pyrard de Laval (France) (1607)
William Finch (England) (1608-1611)

Du Jarric (French Jesuit historian) (1608)
William Hawkins (England) (1608-1613)
Nicholas Withington (England) (1612-16)
Thomas Coryat (England) (1612-1617)
Sir Thomas Roe (England) (1615)
Edward Terry (England) (1616-1619)
Francisco Pelsaert (Holland) (1620-1627)
Peter Dellavalle (Italy) (1623-24)
Reverend Henry Lord (England) (1624)
Mutribi Samarqandi (Central Asia) (1627)
Peter Mundy (England) (1628)
Abraham Roger (Holland) (first Dutch chaplain at Pulicat, 1630-1640)
Francisco de Azevedo (Portuguese Jesuit missionary (1631)
Albrecht von Mandelslo (Germany) (1638)
Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (France) (1640)
Philipp Baldaeus (Holland) (1660)
Niccolao Manucci (Italy) (1656-1717)
Francois Bernier (France) (1658-1667)
Athanasius Kircher (Germany)
Father Heinrich Roth (Germany)
Jon Olafsson (Iceland)
Manuel Godinho (Portugal) (1663)
Friar Domingo Navarrete (Spain)
Jean de Thevenot (France) (1666-1667)
Thomas Bowrey (1669-1679)
Francois Martin (1670-1694)
John Fryer (England) (1672-1681)
Abbe Carre (France) (1672-74)
John Ovington (England) (1689)
Giovanni Francesco Gamelli Careri (Italy) (1695)
Sir William Norris (England) (1699-1702)

**Dates in brackets indicate years of stay in India or year of arrival*

Select List of Travellers and Writers

(in alphabetical order)

Baldaeus, Rev. Philippus, a Dutch clergyman, described his experiences in South India and Ceylon from 1656 to 1665 in his book, *Naen wkenrige beschryving van Malabar en Coromandal*, published in Amsterdam in 1672. The third part of the book, translated “*A true and exact description of the most celebrated East Indian Coach of Malabar*,” is an account of Hinduism in South India. Baldaeus also published a brief grammar of Tamil.

Barbosa, Duarte accompanied his brother-in-law, Fernao de Magalhaes, in his voyage round the world. He arrived in India in 1501 with the fleet of Pedro Cabral and remained in the Indian Ocean region for sixteen years. As a royal factor he was in a position to closely study the commerce of the country. He knew the Malayalam language and has provided valuable information on the Malabar region. His *Book of Duarte Barbosa* was written around 1518. The manuscript was kept locked in Lisbon and published three centuries later.

Cabral, Pedro Alvares, a young navigator of noble lineage, he was a member of the second Portuguese voyage to India in 1550-1501. On the way to India, he ‘discovered’ Brazil.

Careri, Giovanni Francesco Gamelli, a lawyer by profession, arrived in Daman in 1695. He visited the Kanheri caves, which are not mentioned in the account of his countryman, Pietro Della Valle. Careri believed he was the first European to write on the Caves, not knowing that Garcia da Orta had earlier penned a brief account of Mandapeshwar and Kanheri. Careri was, however, the first traveller to describe the Kanheri caves in minute details.

With the aid of Christian soldiers in the Mughal army, he managed to

get an audience with the Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb then encamped at Galgala and engaged in a contest which the Deccan powers. Careri's journal of his voyages was published in six volumes in 1699-1700, each volume dealing with one country.

Carre, Abbe wrote a detailed account of his travels from France to India via the Syrian Desert, Iraq and the Persian Gulf, during the years 1672-74. His visit to India coincided with the arrival of a French squadron in Indian waters to support French trade in the country and perhaps to drive the Dutch out of Ceylon. Abbe Carre appears to have reported on the activities of the French East India Company to Colbert, minister of Louis XIV. His observations on South India are particularly valuable, for most seventeenth century European travellers confined themselves to Western and Northern India. He seems to have been from a noble family and his brother held an important post at the French Court.

Castanheda, Fernao Lopes de set out for India in 1528 in the company of his father and spent the next ten years travelling in Asia. On his return home, he spent twenty years researching and published the first book of his *Historia do descobrimento e conquista da India pelos Portuquezes* in 1551.

Correia, Gasper was the author of *Lendas da India* (Legends of India).

Coryat, Thomas was the first Englishman, apart from the Jesuit, Thomas Stevens, to have set out for India with no thought of trade. He was prompted by the desire to see the country and write a book on his experiences. He started on his travels in October 1612, visiting several countries on the way. A remarkable feature of his journey was that he spent an average of around two pence a day. One factor that facilitated this inexpensive journey was the hospitality of the Eastern people to wandering pilgrims.

Coryat visited Ajmer in July 1615 and stayed there for almost fourteen months. Among the highlights of his visit was a dialogue with Jahangir in Persian. Coryat left for Agra in September 1616. He also visited Mandu. He died in Surat, at the age of forty, in December 1617.

Costa, Cristovao da arrived in Goa in 1568, with the Viceroy D. Luis de Ataide, as his personal physician. In 1569, he worked at the Royal Hospital of Cochin, where he treated the king of Cochin. He returned to Portugal in 1572. His famous book, *Treatise of drugs and medicines of East India*, was first published in 1578. A large part of it is the summary of Orta's *Coloquios*.

Couto, Diogo do was a leading Portuguese chronicler and author of the *Decada Quinta da Asia*.

Della Valle, Pietro was born in Rome in 1586, in an illustrious family that included two cardinals. In 1614, he embarked on a journey to Constantinople from where he went to Asia Minor and Egypt, Mount Sinai and Palestine, Jerusalem, Damascus and Baghdad. Thereafter he went to Persia, where he was granted an interview with King Shah Abbas and even took part in an expedition of the latter against the Turks. He visited the ruins of Persepolis and the city of Shiraz. He arrived in Surat in 1623 and thence went to Cambay, Ahmadabad, Goa, Ikkeri, Baricelor, Mangalur and Calicut. He left India in 1624. On his arrival in Rome he was well received by Pope Urban VIII and made honorary Chamberlain to the Pope.

Pietro Della Valle was a bold and observant traveller who knew Turkish, Persian and Arabic. He was the first foreigner to penetrate into the second pyramid and sent two mummies to Europe, now preserved at Dresden. He was also the first to draw attention to the rock inscriptions and cuneiform writings in Assyria. His travel narrative is divided into three parts, dealing with Turkey, Persia and India. The latter two sections were published after his death.

Federici, Cesare, a trader from Venice, accompanied two horse traders from Goa to the city of Vijayanagar. He arrived two years after the battle of Talikota and stayed there for seven months.

Finch, William's narrative is important for the topographical details he provided, based either on his journeys or derived by careful inquiry from others.

Fitch Ralph's account dates to the period before the establishment of the English East India Company, when English merchants were attempting to acquire a share in the eastern trade. An expedition, which included Ralph Fitch, was given a letter of introduction by Queen Elizabeth to Emperor Akbar (described as the King of Cambay). At Ormus, the group was arrested and sent to Goa where they remained in prison for over a month. The Dutchman, Linschoten, being with the Archbishop of Goa, was able to secure bail for the group in April 1584. On the pretext of an excursion, they crossed into the territory of the King of Bijapur from where they journeyed to Golconda.

Godinho, Fr. Manuel was born in Portugal in 1633. He joined the Society of Jesus in 1649 and in 1655 was sent to India to work on the Fishery

Coast. After the agreement to cede Bombay to England was announced in 1661, he was sent on a mission back home to persuade the Portuguese Court not to give effect to the transfer. His account of his journey from India to Portugal in 1663 throws light on society and politics in India at that time.

Hawkins, William was captain of the *Hector*, the first vessel to display the English flag on the coast of India. He was accorded a cordial reception by Emperor Jahangir, who discovering Hawkins' fluency in Turkish, held frequent discussions with him about European countries. So pleased was Jahangir with the Englishman that he permitted the English to trade at his ports. Hawkins was made captain of four hundred horse, married to an Armenian maiden, and granted a place among the grandees of the Mughal court. According to the Jesuits, he now began to dress like a Muhammadan nobleman. Hawkins appealed that a *farman* (order) be granted for the establishment of a factory at Surat, a request the Emperor conceded. Thereupon Hawkins left Agra in November 1611. The Governor of Surat, however, refused to allow the English to establish the factory in view of the Portuguese threat. Hawkins left in February 1612, and died en route to his home on the Irish shore.

Henriques, Fr. Henry, who worked on the Coromandal Coast for almost fifty years, was the first European to prepare a Tamil grammar, probably around 1567. The work was however discovered only four centuries later in the National Library in Lisbon. His *Flos Sanctorum*, on the lives of saints, in its reprint of 1967, is 669 pages long, in Tamil.

Kircher, Athanasius, the Jesuit, is regarded as among the founders of Egyptology. His monumental work, *China Illustrata* (1667), contains valuable information on China and India. He belonged to a group of ethnographers who studied paganism because they believed that the idea of God was present in all ancient religions. Kircher was interested in the origins of idolatry and studied the practice in China, Egypt and India. He paid considerable attention to the religious beliefs of the Brahmins. Father Heinrich Roth was among his principle informants on Hinduism. In *China Illustrata*, the Devanagari script appeared for the first time before a European audience.

Linschoten, Jan Huygen van, a native of Holland, reached Goa in 1584 where he remained till 1589 as Secretary to the Archbishop of Goa. His travel diary, *Itinerario*, published in 1592, was probably the best account of Goa and the west coast to appear in print before 1800.

Lord, Reverend Henry, who arrived in Surat in 1624, wrote a highly rated treatise on Hindu beliefs and customs. The Orientalist, Sir William Jones, said of the work, “the inhabitants of this extensive tract are described by Mr. Lord with great exactness, and with a picturesque eloquence peculiar to our ancient language.”

Manucci, Niccolao, a native of Venice arrived in India in 1656. His work, *Storia Do Mogor*, first published in four volumes in 1907-9, covers the last six years of Emperor Shah Jahan’s reign and the entire reign of his successor, Aurangzeb. Manucci was employed as an artilleryman in the army of Prince Dara and after the latter’s defeat in the war of succession, served (in disguise) in the army of Aurangzeb. He also briefly joined the services of Raja Jai Singh. He met the Maratha leader Shivaji in Aurangabad in 1665. He held various positions in the Mughal Court. After resigning from service, he stayed for a while in Goa. The Governor and Council of Madras granted him a house in the city where he died in 1717.

Nobili, Robert de, a Jesuit missionary, was sent to India in 1605. On arrival, he was amazed to discover that his predecessor in the Mission had not been able to convert a single native in fourteen years. Nobili was the first European to study Sanskrit.

Nuniz, Fernao, a Portuguese horse-trader, spent three years in Vijayanagar. He was greatly impressed by the city and kingdom, which he described in considerable detail.

Olafsson, Jon (1618-1679) an Icelander, completed his work around 1661.

Orta, Garcia da, physician to King John III, left for Goa in March 1534 with his friend Martim Afonso de Sousa (who had been appointed Captain-Major of the Indian Ocean). In India, he accompanied Martim Afonso de Sousa on several campaigns on the west coast between Kathiawar and Ceylon. He was present at the signing of the treaty between Nuno de Cunha and Bahadur Shah, ruler of Gujarat, on 23 December 1534, by which Bassein and Bombay were ceded to the Portuguese. Garcia da Orta settled in Goa as a medical practitioner. He died in 1568, five years after the publication of his famous book, *Coloquios dos simples e drogas da India*.

Paes, Domingo provided an invaluable account of Vijayanagar at the

height of its glory. His account, together with that of Fernao Nuniz, is among the most important foreign sources on the kingdom.

Pelsaert, Francisco of Antwerp was appointed junior factor in the Dutch East India Company and posted to India in 1620. He remained in Agra until the end of 1627, rising to the position of senior factor. The *Remonstrantie*, written in 1626, sums up Pelsaert's experiences in Agra at an important moment for both the Dutch Company and Indian commerce. It is basically a commercial report, prepared for the Company, not for a popular audience.

Pires, Tome, the son of the apothecary of King John, ranks among the European pioneers, who studied the life of the Indian people and Indian medicine. He arrived at Cannanore in September 1511. His book *Suma Oriental*, written around 1512-1515, was discovered only in the 1930s and published for the first time in 1944. It provides a detailed account of India, including observations on elephantiasis, a disease unknown in Europe. Tome Pires left Cochin in February 1516.

Roger, Abraham was sent to the Coromandal Coast by the Amsterdam Classis in 1632. He preached and taught on Coromandal for 10 years in Tamil, Portuguese, and Dutch. Roger enlisted the help of a *Smarta* Brahmin, Padmanabha, to learn about Hindu customs and beliefs. Roger's book, "*De Opendeure tot het verborgen heydendom*," published in 1651, two years after his death, is one of the most complete and objective accounts of Hinduism written by a foreigner. Roger was the first European to translate Bhartrahri.

Roth, Father Heinrich, a German, was attached to the Agra mission. He took back to Rome an illustrated account of the ten incarnations of Vishnu. This was included in Kircher's work, with a description of the cosmological myth on the origins of the four *varnas* from various parts of Brahma's body.

Sassetti, Filippo, a Florentine merchant, was the great-grandson of Francesco Sassetti, manager of the Medici enterprises in the fifteenth century. He arrived in India in 1583 and died in Goa in 1588. During his stay in India he sent no less than thirty-five letters to Florence on his observations on the country, on its trade, administration, religion, seasons, climate and natural history.

Stephens, Thomas, a Jesuit, was the first Englishman to reside in India. He arrived in Goa in October 1579 and stayed in India for forty years. He was particularly interested in learning the languages of this country. In 1616, his

Christapurana was published in Marathi, and in 1622, after his death, his book on Christian doctrine written in Konkani.

Tavernier, Jean-Baptiste first arrived in India around 1640-1641 and altogether visited the country no less than five times. Among the important political personalities he met and did business with (he dealt in precious stones) were Mir Jumla, Chief Minister of Golconda, Shaista Khan, the Mughal governor in the Deccan and Emperor Aurangzeb.

On his return home, he was honoured by the French King, Louis XIV. When he was around 79 years old, Tavernier was approached by Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg, who wished to appoint him his ambassador to India. Though the proposal did not fructify, Tavernier planned his seventh and last visit to the East when he was over 80 years old. He appears to have died somewhere near Moscow. Gibbon described him as “that wandering jeweller, who had read nothing, but had seen so much and so well.”

Given his interest in business, he provides much valuable information on the state of commerce in medieval India. Since he visited India before Aurangzeb ordered the destruction of Hindu temples, he provides accounts of temples in Mathura and Banaras before they were levelled on Aurangzeb’s orders.

Terry, Edward’s account of India was based on the two and a half years he spent there as chaplain to Sir Thomas Roe. It also borrowed from the work of Thomas Coryat, Roe’s companion for a considerable period. Terry joined Roe near Ujjain towards the end of February 1617.

Thevenot, Jean de arrived in India in 1666 and stayed for about a year, visiting important centres of commerce and industry. He was the first European to describe the rock cut temples at Ellora.

Valignano, Alessandro, a Jesuit, visited India between 1574 and 1606. He wrote of the natives, “These people, who are almost black and go half naked, are universally contemptible and held to be base by the Portuguese and other Europeans; and the truth is that compared to them they are of little substance and lack refinement” (Rubies2000:7).

Van Reede tot Drakenstein, Hendrik Adriaan (1636-91), the Dutch commander of Malabar, in the 1670s commissioned a gigantic work, *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus*, on the flora of the region. It was published in 12 folio volumes between 1678 and 1693. In the preface to volume III dedicated to the Raja of Cochin, Van Reede tot Drakenstein described the process of the

construction of his herbal catalogue,

“By my orders, Brahmin and other physicians made lists of the best known and most frequently occurring plants in their languages. On this basis, others classified the plants according to the season in which they attracted notice for their leaves or flowers or fruit. This seasonal catalogue was then given to experts in plants, who were entrusted, in groups of three, with the collection of the plants with their leaves, flowers, and fruit, for which they even climbed the highest tops of trees. Three or four draftsmen, who stayed with me in a convenient place, would accurately depict the living plants as the collectors brought them. To these pictures a description was added, nearly always in my presence” (Raj 2006: 44).

Varthema, Ludevico di, a Venetian, travelled to the East by way of the Red Sea in 1502 and returned to Europe via the Cape in 1507. He was in Calicut some years after the arrival of the Portuguese and in Goa on the eve of its fall. He did not travel beyond Calicut. His book, *Itinerario* published in 1510, was highly successful and went through many editions in Europe.

Withington, Nicholas had come out as a fleet attendant and obtained service in the East India Company at Surat probably because of his knowledge of Arabic. In October 1613, he accompanied a Company official to Ahmadabad to purchase indigo. From there he visited Cambay and Sarkhej, writing interesting accounts of these places. In 1615 he was charged with defrauding the Company and left for England.

CONTENTS

<i>Publisher's Note</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>Introduction</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>Select List of Travellers</i>	<i>xv</i>
<i>Select List of Travellers and Writers</i>	<i>xvii</i>
 Chapter 1	
Nature's Bounty	1
A. Flora	1
B. Wealth of India	5
C. Precious metals and stones	16
D. Fauna	17
 Chapter 2	
People	21
A. Description of people	21
B. Glimpses of society	25
C. Dwellings	29
D. Dress	30
E. Cleanliness	37
F. Food Habits	38
G. Betel Eating	44
H. Economic disparities	44
I. Funeral Rites	50
 Chapter 3	
Festivals and Fairs	55
A. Festivals	55
B. Fairs	67
C. Entertainment and Games	68

Chapter 4	
Economic Life	71
A. Textiles	71
B. Some famous arts and crafts of India	74
C. Indigo, saltpetre, gum lac, wax, long pepper	78
D. Some drugs prepared in India, Francisco Pelsaert	80
E. Diamond industry	81
F. Towns and Bazaars	84
G. Ports and Trade	89
Chapter 5	95
Architecture	
A. Temples and Caves	95
B. Tanks and Lakes	107
C. Forts and Palaces	110
D. Town Planning	118
E. Mosques	119
F. Mausoleums	120
Chapter 6	
Language, Literature and Education	123
A. Languages	123
B. Education	124
C. Manuscripts	127
Chapter 7	
Religion and philosophy	129
A. Cosmology and Symbology	129
B. Philosophy	132
C. Transmigration of souls	133
D. Unanimity on matters of faith	135
E. No interest in conversion	135
F. Yogis and Vratis	137
Chapter 8	
Religion in Practice	147
A. Theory of incarnation	147
B. Importance of image worship	149
C. Some important pilgrimage centres	150
D. Worship at other sites	162
E. Worship of trees and animals	176

F. Ahimsa, love for animals	180
G. Ritual Bathing, Eclipses	183

Chapter 9

Sciences	189
A. Astronomy and Time-reckoning	189
B. Diseases and Cures	191
C. Hindu Physicians	194
D. Drugs and stones used for cure	197

Chapter 10

Social Organisation	201
A. Varna and Caste	201
B. Brahmins	205
C. Rajputs, Kshatriyas, Nairs	217
D. Baniyas	219
E. Shudras	223
F. Untouchables	223

Chapter 11

Women	227
A. Four sorts of women	227
B. Women force in Vijayanagar	228
C. Women Rulers	229
D. Marriage	234
E. Hindu Wives	244
F. Widows	246
G. Sati	247
H. Devadasis	260

Chapter 12

Hindu Kingdoms and Rulers	263
A. Vijayanagar	263
B. The Zamorin of Calicut	290
C. Shivaji	292

Chapter 13

Jews and Parsees	305
A. Jews	305
B. Parsees	307

Chapter 14	
Christianity	311
A. State of Christianity in India	311
B. Conversions	319
C. Marriage ceremonies	328
Chapter 15	
Islam and Muslims	331
A. Muslim communities	331
B. Festivals	333
C. Marriage customs	336
D. Royal harems	339
E. Pilgrimages and Pirs	342
F. A Muslim view of how European nations differ	345
Chapter 16	
Mughals In India	347
A. Mughal Emperors	347
B. Mughal Polity	366
C. Mughal Thrones	368
D. The Emperors' Jewels	370
E. Mughal Princesses	373
F. Mughal Forces	374
References	377
Select Bibliography	391
Index	395

Chapter 1

Nature's Bounty

- A. Flora
- B. Wealth of India
- C. Precious metals and stones
- D. Fauna

A. FLORA

Some scenic descriptions

1. **Father Jerome Xavier, member of the third Jesuit mission, on the river Ravi near which the Jesuits were lodged in some royal houses by Emperor Akbar in 1596¹**

This river is called 'beautiful' and deserves its name; it has sweet water and is almost the same size as the Tagus.

2. **The beauty of Kashmir first described to the Western world by Father Jerome Xavier who accompanied Emperor Akbar to the province²**

...the Kingdom of Caxmir is one of the pleasantest and most beautiful countries to be found in the whole of India, we may even say in the East.

3. **Kashmir "surpasses in beauty all that my warm imagination had anticipated," Francois Bernier³**

The histories of the ancient Kings of *Kachemire* maintain the whole of this country was in former times one vast lake, and that an outlet for the waters was opened by a certain pire, or aged saint, named *Kacheb* [Persian form of Kasyapa, son of Marichi, son of Brahma, who according to Hindu tradition, formed the passage], who miraculously cut the mountain of *Baramoule*...

Kachemire, however, is no longer a lake, but a beautiful country, diversified with a great many low hills: about thirty leagues in length, and

from ten to twelve in breadth. It is situated at the extremity of *Hindoustan*, to the north of *Lahor*; enclosed by the mountains at the foot of *Caucasus*, those of the Kings of *Great Tibet* [Ladakh] and *Little Tibet* [Baltistan], and of the *Raja Gamon* [Raja of Jummoo], who are its most immediate neighbours.

The first mountains which surround it, I mean those nearest to the plains, are of moderate height, of the freshest verdure, decked with trees and covered with pasture land, on which cows, sheep, goats, horses, and every kind of cattle is seen to graze. Game of various species is in great plenty – partridges, hares, antelopes, and those animals which yield musk. Bees are also in vast abundance; and what may be considered very extraordinary in the *Indies*, there are, with few or no exceptions, neither serpents, tigers, bears, nor lions. These mountains may indeed be characterised not only as innocuous, but as flowing in rich exuberance with milk and honey.

Beyond the mountains just described arise others of very considerable altitude, whose summits, at all times covered with snow, soar above the clouds and ordinary mist, and, like *Mount Olympus*, are constantly bright and serene.

From the sides of all these mountains gush forth innumerable springs and streams of water, which are conducted by means of embanked earthen channels even to the top of the numerous hillocks [these table-lands, called *karewas*, are a prominent feature of the landscape] in the valley; thereby enabling the inhabitants to irrigate their fields of rice. These waters, after separating into a thousand rivulets and producing a thousand cascades through this charming country, at length collect and form a beautiful river [the Jhelum], navigable for vessels as large as are borne on our *Seine*. It winds gently around the kingdom, and passing through the capital, bends its peaceful course toward *Baramoule*, where it finds an outlet between two steep rocks, being then joined by several smaller rivers from the mountains, and dashing over precipices it flows in the direction of Atek [Attock, Bernier seems to have been misinformed; the Jhelum falls into the Chenab near Jhang; the general direction is correct], and joins the *Indus*.

The numberless streams which issue from the mountains maintain the valley and the hillocks in the most delightful verdure. The whole kingdom wears the appearance of a fertile and highly cultivated garden. Villages and hamlets are frequently seen through the luxuriant foliage. Meadows and vineyards, fields of rice, wheat, hemp, saffron, and many sorts of vegetables, among which are intermingled trenches filled with water, rivulets, canals, and several small lakes, vary the enchanting scene. The whole ground is enamelled with our European flowers and plants, and covered with our *apple*, *pear*, *plum*, *apricot*, and *walnut trees*, all bearing fruit in great abundance. The private gardens are full of *melons*, *pateques* or *water melons*, *water parsnips*, *red beet*, *radishes*, most of our potherbs, and others with which we are unacquainted...

Capital of Kashmir

The capital of *Kachemire* bears the same name as the kingdom [Srinagar, the ancient name of the city, was disused during Muhammedan rule]. It is without walls and is not less than three quarters of a league in length, and half a league in breadth. It is situated in a plain, distant about two leagues from the mountains, which seem to describe a semicircle, and is built on the banks of a freshwater lake [the Dal Lake], whose circumference is from four to five leagues. This lake is formed of live springs and of streams descending from the mountains, and communicates with the river, which runs through the town, by means of a canal sufficiently large to admit boats. In the town there are two wooden bridges thrown over the river; and the houses, although for the most part of wood, are well built and consist of two or three stories. There is, however, plenty of very fine freestone in the country; some old buildings, and a great number of ancient idol-temples in ruins, are of stone; but wood is preferred on account of its cheapness, and the facility with which it is brought from the mountains by means of so many small rivers. Most of the houses along the banks of the river have little gardens, which produce a very pretty effect, especially in the spring and summer, when many parties of pleasure take place on the water. Indeed most houses in the city have also their gardens; and many have a canal, on which the owner keeps a pleasure-boat, thus communicating with the lake.

Hari Parbat

At one end of the town appears an isolated hill, with handsome houses on its declivity, each having a garden. Toward the summit are a *Mosque* and *Hermitage*, both good buildings; and the hill is crowned with a large quantity of fine trees. It forms altogether an agreeable object, and from its trees and gardens it is called, in the language of the country, *Haryperbet* [Hari Parbat] or the Verdant Mountain.

Buddhist temple built by Emperor Ashoka's son

Opposite to this hill is seen another, on which is also erected a small *Mosque* with a garden and an extremely ancient building, which bears evident marks of having been a temple for idols, although named *Tact-Souliman* [the Takht-i Suliman hill on top of which is a Buddhist temple built by Jaloka, son of Emperor Ashoka; part of it was converted into a mosque at the time of a Muslim invasion of Kashmir], the Throne of Solomon. The *Mahometans* pretend it was raised by that celebrated King when he visited *Kachemire*; but I doubt whether they could prove that this country was ever honoured with his presence.

The lake is full of islands, which are so many pleasure-grounds. They

look beautiful and green in the midst of the water, being covered with fruit trees, and laid out with regular trellised walks. In general, they are surrounded by the large-leaved aspen, planted at intervals of two feet. The largest of these trees may be clasped in a man's arms, but they are as high as the mast of a ship, and have only a tuft of branches at the top, like the palm-trees.

The declivities of the mountains beyond the lake are crowded with houses and flower-gardens. The air is healthful, and the situation considered most desirable: they abound with springs and streams of water, and command a delightful view of the lake, the islands, and the town.

Shalimar

The most beautiful of all these gardens is one belonging to the King, called *Chah-limar* [Shalimar]. The entrance from the lake is through a spacious canal, bordered with green turf, and running between two rows of poplars. Its length is about five hundred paces, and it leads to a large summer-house placed in the middle of the garden. A second canal, still finer than the first, then conducts you to another summer-house, at the end of the garden. This canal is paved with large blocks of freestone, and its sloping sides are covered with the same. In the middle is a long row of fountains, fifteen paces asunder; besides which there are here and there large circular basins, or reservoirs, out of which arise other fountains, formed into a variety of shapes and figures.

The summer-houses are placed in the midst of the canal, consequently surrounded by water, and between the two rows of large poplars planted on either side. They are built in the form of a dome, and encircled by a gallery, into which four doors open; two looking up, or down, the canal, and two leading to bridges that connect the buildings with both banks. The houses consist of a large room in the centre, and of four smaller apartments, one at each corner. The whole of the interior is painted and gilt, and on the walls of all the chambers are inscribed certain sentences, written in large and beautiful *Persian* characters. The four doors are extremely valuable; being composed of large stones, and supported by two beautiful pillars. The doors and pillars were found in some of the idol temples demolished by *Chah-Jehan*, and it is impossible to estimate their value. I cannot describe the nature of the stone, but it is far superior to porphyry, or any species of marble [the pillars are believed to be made of a black and grey fossiliferous marble].

Scenic beauty

You have no doubt discovered before this time that I am charmed with *Kachemire*. In truth, the kingdom surpasses in beauty all that my warm imagination had anticipated. It is probably unequalled by any country of the same extent, and should be, as in former ages, the seat of sovereign authority

extending its dominion over all the circumjacent mountains even as far as *Tartary* and over the whole of *Hindoustan*, to the island of *Ceylon*. It is not indeed without reason that the *Mogols* call *Kachemire* the terrestrial paradise of the *Indies*, or that *Ekbar* [Akbar] was so unremitting in his efforts to wrest the sceptre from the hand of its native Princes. His son *Jehan-Guyre* [Jahangir] became so enamoured of this little kingdom as to make it the place of his favourite abode, and he often declared that he would rather be deprived of every other province of his mighty empire than lose *Kachemire*...

4. Natural beauty of Bengal, Francois Bernier⁴

In describing the beauty of *Bengale*, it should be remarked that throughout a country extending nearly an hundred *leagues* in length, on both banks of the *Ganges*, from *Raje-Mehale* [Rajmahal] to the sea, is an endless number of channels, cut, in bygone ages, from that river with immense labour, for the conveyance of merchandise and of the water itself, which is reputed by the *Indians* to be superior to any in the world. These channels are lined on both sides with towns and villages, thickly peopled with *Gentiles* [Hindus]; and with extensive fields of *rice*, *sugar*, *corn*, three or four sorts of *vegetables*, *mustard*, *sesame* for oil, and small *mulberry-trees*, two or three feet in height, for the food of silk-worms. But the most striking and peculiar beauty of *Bengale* is the innumerable islands filling the vast space between the two banks of the *Ganges*, in some places six or seven days' journey asunder. These islands vary in size, but are all extremely fertile, surrounded with wood, and abounding in fruittrees, and pineapples, and covered with verdure; a thousand water-channels run through them, stretching beyond the sight, and resembling long walks arched with trees...

5. The biggest war-tree ever at Aurangabad, Jean de Thevenot⁵

An hour and an halfs march from *Aurangeabad*, we encamped under the biggest *War-tree*, that I have seen in the Indies: It is exceedingly high, hath some branches ten Fathom long, and the circumference of it, is above three hundred of my paces. The branches of it are so loaded with Pigeons, that it were an easie matter to fill a great many Pigeon-houses with them, if one durst take them; but that is forbidden, because they are preserved for the Prince's pleasure. There is a Pagoda under that Tree and many Tombs, and hard by a Garden planted with Citron-trees.

B. WEALTH OF INDIA

1. Fernao Lopes de Castanheda on luxuriant Goa⁶

The greater part of this island is encircled with rocky cliffs and mires:

the land itself is very beautiful and luxuriant with numerous and tall groves of palm trees that give much wine, oil, vinegar, and jaggery, that almost tastes like sugar. It also has areca palms that give areca with which betel is eaten...They have also many gardens in which they grow numerous and very singular fruits of the earth, and have many very healthful waters. They produce much rice and other vegetables which are different from ours and all good to eat. They have a large amount of sesame from which they make a very good oil which spares our own, and it is in such abundance that they make it in presses as we do ours. They produce much livestock, cows and oxen, many pigs and hens, and much good fish, as well as numerous other foods of land and sea.

2. The Deccan, from Belgaum to Bijapur, is 'excellent country' with "many fine streams, large towns, much livestock," the Jesuit, Gonsalves Rodrigues in 1561⁷

The land...is very black and fertile, and very flat. Seldom are stones found in the earth, and it seems to be the most fertile soil imaginable for grains, that is, if it were in the hands of our Portuguese farmers. As it is such excellent land, all foods grow abundantly with only the dews, [for moisture].

3. Nature's munificence, Edward Terry⁸

The country is beautified with many woods and great varietie of faire goodly trees; but I never saw any there of those kinds which England affoords. Their trees in generall are sappie, which I ascribe to the fatnesse of the soyle. Some of them have leaves as broad as bucklers; others are parted small as ferne, as the tamarine trees, which beare a sowre fruit that growes somewhat like our beanes, most wholesome for to coole and cleanse the bloud. There is one tree amongst them of speciall observation, out of whose branches grow little sprigs downward till they take root, and so at length prove strong supporters unto the armes that yeeld them; whence it comes to passe that these trees in time grow unto a great height and extend themselves to an incredible bredth [the banyan or Indian fig-tree]. All the trees in those southerne parts of India still keepe on their greene mantles. For their flowres, they rather delight the eye then affect the sense; in colour admirable, but few of them, unlesse roses and one or two kinds more, that are any whit fragrant.

Ganges water weighs less than any other

This region is watered with many goodly rivers. The two principall are Indus and Ganges. Where this thing remarkable must not passe: that one pinte of the water of Ganges weigheth lesse by an ounce than any in the whole kingdome; and therefore the Mogol, wheresoever hee is, hath it brought to him that he may drinke it...

4. Variety of fruits, Edward Terry⁹

Their fruits are very answerable to the rest; the countrey full of musk-melons, water-melons, pomegranats, pome-citrons [lime], limons, oranges, dates, figs, grapes, plantans (a long round yellow fruit, in taste like to a Norwich peare), mangoes (in shape and colour like to our apricocks, but more luscious), and, to conclude with the best of all, the ananas or pine [pine-apple introduced into India from America by the Portuguese], which seemes to the taster to be a pleasing compound made of strawberries, claret-wine, rose-water, and sugar, well tempered together. In the northermost parts of this empire they have varietie of apples and peares; every where good roots, as carrots, potatoes [according to Sir George Watt, this is the first mention of the ordinary potato in India; it is, however, possible that Terry was referring to the sweet potato, which was common in India at that time], and others like them as pleasant.

5. At Surat, "plants so many, that to write fully of them would require express volumes," Pietro Della Valle¹⁰

The Commendator of the Dutch came one day to give me a visit, and after a competent conversation, carried me in his coach a little out of the City to see one of the fairest and famousest gardens of Surat. The plot was level, well contriv'd and divided with handsome streight Walks; on either side whereof were planted rowes of sundry Trees of this Climate, namely *Ambe* or, as others speak, *Manghe* [mango], before describ'd by me in my last Letters from *Persia*, in the maritime parts whereof I saw some Trees of this kind: *Foufel*, whose leaves are like these of the *Palm-tree*, but of a livelier, and fairer, green; *Narghil*, like the Palm in the leaves also, and is that which we call *Nux Indica* [coconut]: and others, different from what are found in our parts. The plots between the several walks were full of herbs and flowers, partly such as we have, and partly not; amongst the rest they shew'd me a Flower, for bigness and form not unlike our Gilly flower, but of a whitish yellow, having a very sweet and vigorous scent, and they call it *Ciampa* [Champa]. In a convenient place there is a square place [*Baithakhana*, sitting room]; rais'd somewhat from the ground and cover'd with large sheds, to sit there in the shade, after the manner of the East: and here we entertain'd ourselves a while and had a collation; and other things in the garden worthy of remark I saw none.

As for the plants and strange simples of *India*, and the whole Torrid Zone, (in these things very different from ours) I shall say briefly once for all, that they are such and so many, that to write fully of them would require express volumes, and make them as big as those of *Dioscorides* and *Pliny*, all of things unknown to us.

6. Fruits of Goa, Peter Mundy¹¹

(i) Jamboes

Jambo trees, which then blossomed, when (and) then I thincke few trees More beautifull to the Eye, the flower of a good bignesse; fine forme and of an excellent vermillion Dye, very thicke sett, growing on the stalkes and biggest bowes, not at the very end of the sprigges as trees Doe bear with us. This fruit is ordinarily now served att our table, in forme like an apple or peare, of a whitish coullour with a Dash of red as some of our apples. It smelles betweene a violett and a rose; of a Pleasaunt tast, though somewhat Flashy [insipid] or waterish.

(ii) Cajooraes: of a straunge propertye

Cajoora trees, whose blossom casteth a Most Fragrant smell into the ayre, the Fruit somwhatt harsh in tast and strong, although it hath this property, thatt I thincke none elce (hath) the like, *viz.* thatt wheras the seedes or Kernells of other fruites grow within them, the Kernell of this growes quite withoutt it at the very end, resembling a French beane, though much bigger, and beeing roasted, eateth like a Chestnutt.

(iii) Jackes

Jacke trees, whose Fruitte groweth on the very body, stemme, or biggest braunches of the tree. There bee some thatt Wey Near 40 pound waight, and in my opinion is the biggest Fruit thatt groweth on trees, as I thincke the Cocotree beares the biggest Nutte.

(iv) Coconutts: its wonderfull benefit and use

Cocotrees have onely stemme and No braunches or boughes att all, with a great bush att the very toppe. It is in many places much commended for the great benefitt itt affoards to Mans use, and not undese(r)ved, For to my Knowlidg it affoardes Meat, Drink and lodging, Oyle, Wyne, Milk, Sugar, etts., and good Cordage Made of the outward rinde of the Nutte, which in Clusters grow outt att the toppe on a sprigge, as Doe allsoe the Papaes in a Manner, the tree Differing in leaves and height.

7. Mango, jack-fruit, and other produce, Niccolao Manucci¹²

As I have promised to speak of the fruits of India, chiefly of the mango and jack-fruit, I may mention that the best mangoes grow in the island of Goa. They have special names, which are as follows: mangoes of *Niculao Affonso*, *Malaiasses* [? of Malacca], *Carreira branca* [white Carreira], *Carreira vernehla* [red Carreira] of *Conde*, of *Joani Parreira*, *Babia* (large and round),

of *Araup*, of *Porta*, of *Secreta*, of *Mainato*, of *Our Lady*, of *Agua de Lupe*. These are again divided into varieties, with special colour, scent, and flavour. I have eaten many that had the taste of the peaches, plums, pears, and apples of Europe. The mango is a little bit heating and laxative, and however many you eat of them, with or without bread, you still desire to eat more, and they do you no harm. While still unripe they are added to dishes, to pasties, *et cetera*. The juice of the ripe fruit mixed with milk is drunk, and is sustaining. They also make the fruit into preserves, which are exported to various places; various kinds of pickles are also made, which keep good for two years, and the stones are employed in medicine. The tree on which the mango is grown is the size of a walnut-tree; the fruit grows in clusters, like plums in Europe...

Jack-fruit

The jack-fruit I spoke of is of three kinds – *barca*, *papa*, and *pacheri* jack-fruit. These fruits are very large; some weigh eighty pounds or thereabouts. The tree is of the size of a walnut-tree. The fruit referred to grows on the trunk and on the larger branches; some grow from the roots, and these are discovered by the earth being pushed up, also by the smell which the spot emits. This fruit has a green rind an inch in thickness with projections in the nature of thorns. It is known to be ripe by the smell it emits. Inside it is full of seeds, somewhat about the size of pears; these are very sweet and on opening them, a juice issues sweet as honey, and in the middle are stones like the chestnuts of Europe. In these jack-fruit the seeds are sometimes white and sometimes red; some are hard, some are soft, and each variety has its special flavour.

Of these seeds mixed with rice-flour they make a kind of fritters, which in India are called *paniara* [balls of rice-flour and sugar]. These, too, have their own flavour. When this fruit [the jack] is cut, a white liquid like bird-lime oozes from the rind, and sticking to the hand, it cannot be removed till it is anointed with oil...

Pineapple

I must mention another fruit found in India called *ananas* [the pineapple], which looks like a large pine-cone of Europe, and it has a corrugated rind. It is necessary to slice off this rind somewhat thickly to get rid of some natural depressions it has in it. The centre, when eaten, has a sweet, slightly acid, but very pleasant flavour. This fruit is heating, and if you leave a knife in it all night, the next day you will find it bitten into as if it had remained in aqua fortis. The distilled juice of this fruit is useful for dissolving stones in the kidneys and bladder, as I have found by experiment. The plant on which the fruit forms is a cubit in height; it grows up like an ear of corn, each plant

yielding no more than one fruit. The leaves are a cubit in length and two fingers in breadth, with prickly edges. In no part of India have I seen them in such quantities as in Bengal, where they were large and fine. The reason for this is that it is a lowlying and humid country.

Mirobolanos quebulos

In the Mogul kingdom at different places, such as in the province of Gujarat, the mountains of Srinagar [? Garhwal], and of Butando [? Bhutan], grows a wild fruit exported from India to Europe. They are called *Mirobolanos quebulos* [Chebuli Myrobalan], and are used in medicine. Among them, though rarely, are found some of greater size than the others; these, if attached to the hand, are mildly purgative. They are valued for having this virtue, and great nobles give large sums to obtain them.

Chick-pea

In Hindustan they also sow a grain that in Italian is called *cheche* [? *Cece*] and in French *puee* [? *Pois*]. Of this grain I have seen large quantities used in Europe, chiefly on ship-board. Upon this plant when it is green there collects a dew which is very acid. The great nobles use this liquid instead of vinegar; and to gather it men go out before sunrise and run a sheet over the plants until it is thoroughly steeped. The liquid is then wrung out and kept in well-closed bottles. I state this because in Europe I have neither seen nor heard of such a thing....

Coco-tree

There can be no doubt that something curious can be written about a tree which generally grows in India near the sea. It is called palm-tree or coco-tree. This tree has many roots about the thickness of the little finger, and it grows to a great height but increases very slowly. When seven years have passed it begins to yield fruit; ordinarily it occupies a circumference of two cubits and three-quarters, there or thereabouts, and it lives for a hundred years. At that age it grows to as much as ten arms length; the stem is straight like the mast of a ship, with the branches or palm-leaves at the summit about two arms in length. The leaves are two cubits long, lying close to one another like organ-pipes, three inches in breadth. In the middle of the leaf is a rib, of which they make brooms, *et cetera*. They also make mats from the branches, and these serve as carpets to the native of the country. They thatch houses with the leaves, and they are also used as decorations at festivals. Every month a new branch appears in the middle of the palm-tree, and the oldest one falls off. Each tree has about thirty branches, and amidst them comes out the flower, enclosed by nature in a shield about a cubit long, nearly ten inches in circumference, and

coming to a sharp point. When it has reached its proper size, the covering opens and the flower shows in the shape of brooms. On each branch of the flower you see its fruit stuck on like buttons, and these, swelling until they are like nuts, are then called *coquinhos* [little coconuts]; they are used for many infantile complaints, such as diarrhoea and mouth-sores. When grown to the size of twenty-eight up to thirty inches round, and as much in length, they are called *lanha*. The nut is then full of a sweet water, a drink of which is very refreshing. It is used in inflammation of the liver, the kidneys, and the bladder, and increases urination. It is also good for excessive heat of the liver, pains in the bowels, or discharges of mucus or of blood; it also refreshes in the season of great heat.

When the nuts have become ripe, the rind hardens outside and the water inside changes into a pulp called *coco*, which lies inside a hard shell that is called *chereta* [*chiratta*, in Malayalam for the shell of the coconut], and is like a nut. When the rind has been drawn off, they use it to make ropes and cables. The *coco*, when out of its husk, has sixteen to twenty thumbs (*pollegadas*), which European physicians call *Nos Indica* [Indian nut]. From the shells (*chereta* or *chiratta*) of these *cocos* are made dishes (*porzulanos*), vessels, spoons, handles, rings, rosaries, buckets to draw water, and many curiosities. The substance inside, which has about the thickness of an inch, is used for many dainties, being added to dishes in cooking. An oil is also made and usually applied by the women to their hair, which is their greatest delight. This oil is also employed for many medicinal purposes, such as in burns and ulcers, and an ointment is made with it. It serves for a purge to the lean and irascible, expels bile, and reduces adipose tissue.

Usually these trees yield four or five flowers, and in each flower are contained fifteen to twenty *cocos*. Every year it produces fruit three or four times, according to the strength of the soil; in Goa I have seen it yield four crops.

Toddy

Having finished talking of the palm-tree's fruit, I will now speak of its juice, called by the Indians *sura* [toddy]. When they want to draw the liquid, it is first necessary to open the flower, it being then in its rind; the end is cut, and then they begin to depress the whole flower in order to collect the juice, and fixing it, they attach to the end an earthen cup into which the substance drips. This is done twice a day, and each flower yields each time twenty ounces, more or less, of the distillation. When drunk fresh it is sweet and suave, but kept for twelve hours, it tastes like beer and goes to the head. It is used by the Indians in place of wine. From this liquid are manufactured *agua ardente*, vinegar, and sugar. The Indians ascend and descend these trees by clinging to the trunk and putting round it a rope of fibre, and into its ends they place their feet.

8. Bengal – a very nursing mother

(a) Cesare Federici in 1567 on Sondwip¹³

...the fertilest iland in all the world...[one could obtain there] a sack of fine Rice for a thing of nothing.

(b) Cesare Federici on the entry of bullion into Bengal¹⁴

Silver and gold from Pegu [Burma] they carrie to Bengala, and no other kind of Merchandize.

(c) Ralph Fitch on Sonargaon¹⁵

Great store of Cotton doth goeth from hence, and much Rice, wherewith they serve all India, Ceylon, Pegu, Malacca, Sumatra, and many other places.

(d) Francois Pyrard de Laval on Chittagong¹⁶

There is such a quantity of rice, that, besides supplying the whole country, it is exported to all parts of India, as well to Goa and Malabar, as to Sumatra, the Moluccas, and all the islands of Sunda, to all of which lands Bengal is a very nursing mother, who supplies them their entire subsistence and food. Thus, one sees arrive there [Chittagong] every day an infinite number of vessels from all parts of India for these provisions.

(e) Bengal more fertile than Egypt, Francois Bernier¹⁷

Egypt has been represented in every age as the finest and most fruitful country in the world, and even our modern writers deny that there is any other land so peculiarly favoured by nature: but the knowledge I have acquired of *Bengale*, during two visits paid to that kingdom, inclines me to believe that the preeminence ascribed to *Egypt* is rather due to *Bengale*. The latter country produces rice in such abundance that it supplies not only the neighbouring but remote states. It is carried up the *Ganges* as far as *Patna*, and exported by sea to *Maslipatam* and many other ports on the coast of *Koromandel*. It is also sent to foreign kingdoms, principally to the island of *Ceylon* and the *Maldives*. *Bengale* abounds likewise in sugar, with which it supplies the kingdoms of *Golkonda* and the *Karnatic*, where very little is grown, *Arabia* and *Mesopotamia*, through the towns of *Moka* and *Bassora*, and even *Persia*, by way of *Bender-Abbas*. *Bengale* likewise is celebrated for its sweetmeats, especially in places inhabited by *Portuguese*, who are skilful in the art of preparing them, and with whom they are an article of considerable trade. Among other fruits, they preserve large *citrons*, such as we have in *Europe*, a certain delicate root about the length of *sarsaparilla*, that common fruit of the *Indies* called *amba* [mango], another called *ananas* [pineapple], small

mirobolans [myrobalans, dried fruits], which are excellent, *limes*, and *ginger*.

(f) Abundance of Bengal, Francois Bernier¹⁸

The three or four sorts of vegetables which, together with rice and butter [ghee], form the chief food of the common people, are purchased for the merest trifles, and for a single roupie twenty or more good fowls may be bought. Geese and ducks are proportionably cheap. There are also goats and sheep in abundance and pigs are obtained at so low a price that the *Portuguese*, settled in the country, live almost entirely upon pork. This meat is salted at a cheap rate by the *Dutch* and *English*, for the supply of their vessels. Fish of every species, whether fresh or salt, is in the same profusion. In a word, *Bengale* abounds with every necessary of life; and it is this abundance that has induced so many *Portuguese*, *Half-castes*, and other *Christians*, driven from their different settlements by the *Dutch*, to seek an asylum in this fertile kingdom.

(g) Produce of Bengal, Jean de Thevenot¹⁹

The Country is full of Castles and Towns; *Philipatan* [Pipli, near Balasore, Orissa?], *Satigan* [Satgaon, Hooghly district], *Patane* [Patna, chief city of Bihar], *Casanbazar* [Kasimbazaar, Murshidabad district] and *Chatigan* [Chittagong], are very rich; and *Patane* is a very large Town, lying on the West side of the *Ganges* in the Country of *Patan*, where the Dutch have a Factory. Corn, Rice, Sugar, Ginger, long Pepper, Cotton and Silk, with several other Commodities, are plentifully produced in that Country, as well as Fruits; and especially the *Ananas*, which in the out side is much like a Pine-Apple; they are as big as Melons, and some of them resemble them also; their colour at first is betwixt a Green and a Yellow, but when they are ripe, the Green is gone; they grow upon a Stalk not above a Foot and a half high; they are pleasant to the taste, and leaves the flavour of an Apricot in the mouth.

9. Produce of Kashmir, Francois Bernier²⁰

The merchants who every year travel from mountain to mountain to collect the fine wool with which shawls are manufactured, all agree in saying that between all the mountains still dependent upon *Kachemire* there are many fine stretches of country. Among these tracts there is one whose annual tribute is paid in leather and wool, and whose women are proverbial for beauty, chastity, and industry. Beyond this tract is another whose valleys are delightful and plains fertile, abounding in corn, rice, apples, pears, apricots, excellent melons, and even grapes, with which good wine is made. The tribute of this tract is likewise paid in wool and leather, and it sometimes happens that the inhabitants, trusting to the inaccessible nature of the country, refuse payment; but troops always contrive to penetrate, and reduce the people to submission.

10. Abundant Lahore, Jean de Thevenot²¹

Lahors is one of the largest and most abundant Provinces of the Indies; the Rivers that are in it render it extreamly fertile, it yields all that is necessary for life; Rice, as well as Corn and Fruits are plentiful there; there is pretty good Wine in it also, and the best Sugars of all *Indostan*. There are in the Towns Manufactures, not only of all sorts of painted Cloaths, but also of every thing else that is wrought in the *Indies*; and indeed, according to the account of my *Indian*, it brings in to the *Great Mogul* above thirty seven Millions a year, which is a great Argument [sign] of its fruitfulness.

11. Spices of South India, Ralph Fitch²²

The pepper growtheth in many parts of India, especially about Cochin; and much of it doeth grow in the fields among the bushes without any labour, and when it is ripe they go and gather it. The shrubbe is like unto our ivy tree; and if it did not run about some tree or pole, it would fall downe and rot. When they first gather it, it is greene; and then they lay it in the sun, and it becommeth blacke. The ginger growtheth like unto our garlike, and the root is the ginger. It is to be found in many parts of India.

12. Spices of several kinds, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier²³

Cardamom, ginger, pepper, nutmegs, mace, cloves, and cinnamon are the several kinds of spices which are known to us. I place cardamom and ginger first, because cardamom grows in the Kingdom of Bijapur and ginger in that of the Great Mogul, while the other kinds of spices are imported from abroad to Surat, where they constitute an important article of commerce.

Cardamom is the best kind of spice, but is very scarce, and as but a small quantity is grown in the place I have indicated, it is only used in Asia at the tables of the nobles. 500 livres of cardamom are sold at from 100 to 110 reals.

Ginger comes in large quantities from Ahmadabad, where it grows in greater abundance than in any other part of Asia, and it is difficult to realise the quantity which is exported in a candied condition to foreign countries.

Pepper is of two kinds, one of small size, and the other much larger; these are respectively known as small and long pepper. The long kind is chiefly from Malabar, Tutticorin, and Calicut being the towns where it is purchased. Some comes also from the Kingdom of Bijapur, and is sold at Rajapur [Ratnagiri district], a small town of that kingdom. The Dutch who purchase it from the Malabaris do not pay for it in cash, but exchange for it many kinds of merchandise, such as cotton, opium, vermillion, and quicksilver, and it is this long pepper which is exported to Europe. As for the small pepper which comes from Bantam, Achin, and other places

eastwards, it is not exported from Asia, where much is consumed, especially by the Musalmans. For in a pound of small pepper there are double the number of seeds that there are in a pound of the long; and it is more used in the pulaos, into which it is thrown by the handful, besides which the large pepper is too hot for the mouth ...

There is one remarkable fact about the nutmeg, namely, that the tree is never planted. This has been confirmed to me by many persons who have dwelt for many years in the country. They have assured me that when the nuts are ripe certain birds which arrive from the islands to the south swallow them whole, and reject them afterwards without having digested them, and that these nuts, being covered by a viscous and sticky substance, fall to the ground, take root, and produce trees, which would not happen if they were planted-in the ordinary way...

13. Wealth of India, gold from every part of the world swallowed here, Francois Bernier²⁴

It should not escape notice that gold and silver, after circulating in every other quarter of the globe, come at length to be swallowed up, lost in some measure, in *Hindoustan*. Of the quantity drawn from *America*, and dispersed among the different European states, a part finds its way, through various channels, to *Turkey*, for the payment of commodities imported from that country; and a part passes into *Persia*, by way of *Smyrna*, for the silks laden at that port. *Turkey* cannot dispense with the coffee which she receives from *Yemen*, or *Arabia Felix*; and the productions of the *Indies* are equally necessary to *Turkey*, *Yemen*, and *Persia*. Thus it happens that these countries are under the necessity of sending a portion of their gold and silver to *Moka*, on the Red Sea, near *Babel-mandel*; to *Bassora*, at the top of the *Persian Gulf*; and to *Bander Abassi* or *Gomeron*, near *Ormus*; which gold and silver is exported to *Hindoustan* by the vessels that arrive every year, in the *mausem*, or the season of the winds, at those three celebrated ports, laden with goods from that country.

Let it also be borne in mind that all the *Indian* vessels, whether they belong to the *Indians* themselves, or to the *Dutch*, or *English*, or *Portuguese*, which every year carry cargoes of merchandise from *Hindoustan* to *Pegu*, *Tanasseri* [the southern division of the province of Lower Burma], *Siam*, *Ceylon*, *Achem*, [north of the island Sumatra], *Macassar*, the *Maldives*, to *Mosambic*, and other places, bring back to *Hindoustan* from those countries a large quantity of the precious metals, which share the fate of those brought from *Moka*, *Bassora*, and *Bander-Abassi*. And in regard to the gold and silver which the Dutch draw from *Japan*, where there are mines, a part is, sooner or later, introduced into *Hindoustan*; and whatever is brought directly by sea, either from *Portugal* or from *France*, seldom leaves the country, returns being

made in merchandise...

Supplying itself with articles of foreign growth or manufacture, does not...prevent *Hindoustan* from absorbing a large portion of the gold and silver of the world, admitted through a variety of channels, while there is scarcely an opening for its return.

C. PRECIOUS METALS AND STONES

The Rammalakota diamond mines, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier²⁵

...Rammalakota [in Telugu, "precious stone hill fort"], situated five days journey from Golkonda, and eight or nine from Bijapur... It is only about 200 years since this mine of Rammalakota was discovered, at least so far as I have been able to ascertain from the people of the country.

All round the place where the diamonds are found the soil is sandy, and full of rocks and jungle, somewhat comparable to the neighbourhood of Fontainebleau. There are in these rocks many veins, some of half a finger and some of a whole finger in width; and the miners have small irons, crooked at the ends, which they thrust into the veins to draw from them the sand or earth, which they place in vessels; it is in this earth that they afterwards find the diamonds. But as the veins do not always run straight, as some ascend, while others descend, they are obliged to break the rocks, always following the direction of the veins. After they have opened them out, and have removed the earth or sand which may be in them, they then commence to wash it two or three times, and search it for whatever diamonds it may contain. It is in this mine that the cleanest and whitest-watered diamonds are found; but the evil is that in order to extract the sand more easily from the rocks the miners strike such blows with a heavy iron crowbar that it fractures the diamonds, and gives rise to flaws. This is the reason why so many thin stones come from this mine, for when the miners see a stone in which there is a flaw of some size, they immediately cleave it, that is to say split it, at which they are much more accomplished than we are. These are the stones which we call thin (*foible*), which make a great show. If the stone is clean they do not do more than just touch it with the wheel above and below, and do not venture to give it any form, for fear of reducing the weight. But if it has a small flaw, or any spots, or small black or red grit, they cover the whole of the stone with facettes in order that its defects may not be seen, and if it has a very small flaw they conceal it by the edge of one of the facettes. But it should be remarked that the merchant prefers a black point in a stone to a red one. When there is a red one the stone is roasted and the point becomes black....

D. FAUNA

1. Elephants

(a) Used in battles, Ludovico Di Varthema²⁶

...It occurs to me here to touch upon a subject worthy of notice, viz. the discretion, the intelligence, and the strength of the elephant. We will first say in what manner he fights. When an elephant goes into battle he carries a saddle, in the same manner as they are borne by the mules of the kingdom of Naples, fastened underneath by two iron chains. On each side of the said saddle he carries a large and very strong wooden box, and in each box there go three men. On the neck of the elephant, between the boxes, they place a plank the size of half a span, and between the boxes and the plank a man sits astride who speaks to the elephant, for the said elephant possesses more intelligence than any other animal in the world; so that there are in all seven persons who go upon the said elephant; and they go armed with shirts of mail, and with bows and lances, swords and shields. And in like manner they arm the elephant with mail, especially the head and the trunk. They fasten to the trunk a sword two *braccia* long, as thick and as wide as the hand of a man. And in that way they fight. And he who sits upon his neck orders him: 'Go forward' or 'Turn back,' 'Strike this one,' 'Strike that one,' 'Do not strike any more,' and he understands as though he were a human being. But if any time they are put to flight it is impossible to restrain them; for this race of people are great masters of the art of making fireworks, and these animals have a great dread of fire, and through this means they sometimes take to flight. But in every way this animal is the most discreet in the world and the most powerful.

(b) Most docile creatures, Edward Terry²⁷

They have many elephants; the King for his owne particular being master of fourteene thousand, and his nobles and all men of qualitie in the countrey have more or lesse of them, some to the number of one hundred. The elephants, though they bee the largest of all creatures the earth brings forth, yet are so tractable (unlesse at times when they are mad) that a little boy is able to rule the biggest of them. Some of them I have seene thirteene foot high; but there are among them (as I have beene often told) fifteene at the least. The colour of them all is black; their skins thick and smooth without haire. They take much delight to bathe themselves in water, and swim better then any beast I know. They lye downe and arise againe at pleasure, as other beasts doe. Their pace is not swift, about three mile an hour; but of all beasts in the world are most sure of foot, for they never fall nor stumble to endanger their rider. They are most docile creatures and, of all those we account merely sensible, come

neerest unto reason. Lipsius [Justus Lipsius, Joest Lips, the Dutch humanist, 1547-1606] in his *Epistles* (1 Cent. Epist. 50) out of his observations from others writes more of them then I can confirme, or any (I perswade my selfe) beleieve; yet many things remarkable, which seeme indeed acts of reason rather then sence, I have observed in them. For instance, an elephant will doe any thing almost that his keeper commands him; as, if he would have him affright a man, he will make towards him as if hee would tread him in pieces, and when he is come at him, doe him no hurt; if he would have him to abuse or disgrace a man, he will take dirt or kennell water in his trunke and dash it in his face. Their trunks are long grisselly snouts hanging downe twixt their teeth, by some called their hand, which they make use of upon all occasions.

(c) Mode of hunting elephants, Niccolao Manucci²⁸

The mode of hunting the elephant is in Cochin as follows: They make large pits on the paths over which the animal pass, as recognised by their footmarks. Then they put sticks, straw, and earth over these pits, so that the elephant cannot discover them. Passing from one place to another, they fall into the pit, and there they are left for some days, giving them very little food. On finding that from hunger the animal is more gentle, they begin little by little to fill up the pit to a height which enables a man to mount on the elephant. Its feet are bound by heavy iron chains; then, in company of domesticated elephants, it is removed somewhere else, after which it readily becomes submissive...

Intelligence of elephants

Usually there are some superstitions involved in these hunts. It happened in Cochin that an elephant fell into one of the pits described, but was able somehow to get out. To preserve himself and not fall in another time, he began to carry a stake in his trunk with which he probed the earth where he wanted to go. Thus these animals have great discernment, as I have seen and experienced.

2. Taming lions at Sidhpur [Chitpur], Jean-Baptiste Tavernier²⁹

Sidhpur is a fairly good town, so named on account of the great trade which it does in those coloured cottons which are called chites, and at four or five hundred paces on the south side there flows a small river. When I arrived at Sidhpur, on one of my journeys, I was encamped under two or three trees at one of the ends of a great open space near the town. A short time afterwards four or five lions appeared which they brought to train, and they told me it generally took five or six months, and they do it in this way. They tie the lions, at twelve paces distance from each other, by their hind feet, to a cord

attached to a large wooden post firmly planted in the ground, and they have another about the neck which the lion-master holds in his hand. These posts are planted in a straight line, and upon another parallel one, from fifteen to twenty paces distant, they stretch another cord of the length of the space which the lions occupy, when arranged as above. These two cords which hold the lion fastened by his two hind feet, permit him to rush up to this long cord, which serves as a limit to those outside it, beyond which they ought not to venture to pass when harassing and irritating the lions by throwing small stones or little bits of wood at them. A number of people come to this spectacle, and when the provoked lion jumps towards the cord, he has another round his neck, which the master holds in his hand, and with which he pulls him back. It is by this means that they accustom the lion by degrees to become tame with people, and on my arrival at Sidhpur I witnessed this spectacle without leaving my carriage. □

Chapter 2

People

- A. Description of people
- B. Glimpses of society
- C. Dwellings
- D. Dress
- E. Cleanliness
- F. Food habits, mode of eating, fasts
- G. Betel eating
- H. Economic disparities
- I. Funeral Rites

A. DESCRIPTION OF PEOPLE

1. Reverence for teachers among Nayars, Tome Pires¹

They always make a deep reverence to the masters who teach them, so much so that if the best of the Nayars were to meet a Mukkuvan (*Macua*) [a caste name applied to fishermen of Malabar coast] who happened to have taught him something, he would make him a reverence and then go and wash himself. If a Nayar meets another older than himself on the road, he does him reverence and gives place to him. If there were two, three or four brothers, the oldest would have to be seated while the others remained standing.

2. People at Goa, letter dated 10 November 1579 by Thomas Stevens of the Society of Jesus to his father on landing²

The people be tawny, but not disfigured in their lips and noses, as the Moors and Cafres of Ethiopia. They that be not of reputation – or, at least, the most part – go naked, saving an apron of a span long and as much in breadth before them, and a lace two fingers broad before them girded about with a string, and no more. And thus they think themselves as well as we with all our trimming.

3. Polished and refined, Francois Pyrad de Laval³

I have never seen men of wit so fine and polished as are these Indians: they have nothing barbarous or savage about them, as we are apt to suppose. They are unwilling indeed to adopt the manners and customs of the Portuguese; yet do they readily learn their manufactures and workmanship, being all very curious and desirous of learning. In fact the Portuguese take and learn more from them than they from the Portuguese...

4. Hindus talented and industrious, Edward Terry⁴

The Gentiles for the most part are very industrious. They till the ground or else spend their time otherwaies diligently in their vocations. There are amongst them most curious artificers, who are the best apes for imitation in the world; for they will make any new thing by patterne. The Mahometans are generally idle; who are all for to morrow (a word common in their mouthes). They live upon the labours of the Gentiles.

5. Loyal followers, Edward Terry⁵

I must needs commend the Mahumetans and Gentiles for their good and faithfull service; amongst whom a stranger may travell alone, with a great charge of money or goods, quite through the countrey and take them for his guard, yet never bee neglected or injured by them. They follow their masters on foote, carrying swords and bucklers or bowes and arrowes for their defence; and by reason of great plentie of provision in that kingdome, a man may hire them upon easie conditions, for they will not desire above five shillings the moone, paide the next day after the change (*Quibus hinc toga, calceus hinc est; et panis fumusque domi*) [“Their coat, their shooes, their bread, their fire, And all besides, bought with this hire”], to provide themselves all necessaries, and for it doe most diligent service.

6. Hindu morality – adultery, slavery, sodomy frowned upon, Pietro Della Valle⁶

As for good works and sins, they all agree with the Doctrine of Morality and the universal consent of Mankind, that there are differences of Virtue and Vice in all the world. They hold not onely Adultery, but even simple Fornication, a great sin; nor do they account it lawful, as the Mahometans do, to have commerce with female slaves, or with others besides their own Wives. Yea, slaves of either sex they no-wise admit, but hold it a sin; making use of free persons for their service, and paying them wages, as we do in *Europe*. Which likewise was their ancient custom, as appears by *Strabo*, who cites *Megasthenes* and other Authors of those times for it. They detest Sodomy above measure, and abhor the Mahometans whom they observe addicted to it. They

take but one Wife and never divorce her till death, except for the cause of Adultery. Indeed some, either by reason of the remoteness of their Wives, or out of a desire to have children in case the first Wife be barren, or because they are rich and potent, and are minded to do what none can forbid them, sometimes take more Wives; but 'tis not counted well done, unless they be Princes, who always in all Nations are privileged in many things. When the Wife dyes they marry another if they please; but if the Husband dye the Woman never marries more; were she so minded, nor could she find any of her own Race who would take her, because she would be accounted as bad as infamous in desiring a second Marriage. A very hard Law indeed...

7. Ethics and war rules, the Zomorin/Cochin conflict, Pietro Della Valle⁷

When two Kings happen to war together each Army takes great heed not to kill the opposing King, nor so much as to strike his Umbrella wherever it goes, which is amongst them the Ensign of Royalty, because, besides that it would be a great sin to have a hand in shedding Royal blood, the party, or side, which should kill, or wound, him would expose themselves to great and irreparable mischiefs, in regard of the obligation that the whole Kingdom of the wounded, or slain, King hath to revenge him with the greatest destruction of their enemies, even with the certain loss of their own lives if it be needful. By how much such Kings are of greater dignity among them so much longer this obligation of furious revenge endureth. So that if the *Samori* [Zamorin] should be killed, or wounded, by the Army of the King of *Cocin*, who is his enemy, but of greater dignity, the people of the *Samori* stand obliged to one day of revenge, (others say three days) during which everyone is obliged to act his utmost to the utter destruction of those of *Cocin*, even with the manifest hazard of his own life. But if the King of *Cocin*, who hath a greater repute, for honour at least, if not for power, should happen to be slain, or wounded, by the people of the *Samori*, the fury of revenge is to last in those of *Cocin* all the time of their lives (others say once a year), which would cause a great destruction of both sides. They call this term of time, or manner of revenge, *Amoco*; so that they say the *Amoco* of the *Samori* lasts one day; the *Amoco* of the King of *Cocin* lasts all the life, and so of others.

8. Devotion to priests, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier⁸

When I was at Agra in the year 1642 a somewhat strange thing happened. An idolater called Voldas [Vithaldas?] who was the Dutch broker, and about seventy years old, received news that the Chief Priest of the pagoda of Mathura was dead. Immediately he went to see the Chief of the Dutch factory to ask him to examine his accounts and close them, because as he said, their Chief

Priest being dead he also wished to die, to serve that holy man in the other world. As soon as his accounts had been examined he entered his carriage accompanied by some relatives who followed him, and as he had neither eaten nor drunk since he had received the news, he died on the road, refusing to take any food.

9. Salutations of the Hindus, Niccolao Manucci⁹

The first error of these Hindus is to believe that they are the only people in the world who have any polite manners; and the same is the case with cleanliness and orderliness in business. They think all other nations, and above all Europeans, are barbarous, despicable, filthy, and devoid of order.

The civilities they pay to each other are as follows, divisible into five categories. In the first they raise the hands to the head and prostrate themselves on the ground; this is the form in which they adore God, and salute their spiritual leaders, the *Sannyasis*, who are their monks and they also employ it for kings, princes, and the great. Although this is practised by nearly every caste, it is not observed by the Brahmans; they prostrate themselves only before God, their teachers, who are always Brahmans, and their monks, also invariably of their own caste.

The second manner of salutation is to lift the hands to the head. It is in this fashion that they salute ordinary persons, governors, generals, and ministers of kings and princes. The third manner is to raise the hands only as high as the stomach; and this is the course adopted by equals and friends, followed by an embrace. The fourth manner is to display the two hands with the palms joined. This is done by the learned and by monks before princes and the great, when those persons make use to them of one of the three methods above described. Finally the fifth and last mode of salutation is to display the palm of the right hand raised on high; this is how superiors act to inferiors.

Brahmans salute kings in the second manner only; and to it the latter respond in the same form. But what is delightful is to see a Brahman on a visit to another man, for without the slightest salutation he seats himself, and in the conversation the host accords him the title of lordship or excellency, and often that of highness. When he takes his leave he goes off most solemnly without being any more polite on going away than on entering.

10. Hindu opinion of foreigners, Niccolao Manucci¹⁰

The Hindus call all the Europeans and Mahomedans in India by the name of *Farangis* [the inclusion of Mahomedans among Farangis is debatable], a designation so low, so disgraceful in their tongue, that there is nothing in ours which could reproduce it. As they hold the Farangis to be vile and abominable they have persuaded themselves that people have no polite manners, that they

are ignorant, wanting in ordered life, and very dirty. For these things they would sooner die unaided than drink a cup of water from the hand of a *Farangi*; nor would they eat anything that he has prepared. They believe such an act to be an irremediable disgrace, and a sin for which there is no remission.

11. Description of Indians, Giovanni Careri¹¹

The *Indians* are well shap'd, it being rare to find any of them crooked, and for Stature like the *Europeans*. They have black Hair but not Curl'd, and their Skin is of an Olive Colour; and they do not love White, saying it is the Colour of Leprousie. They wash often, anointing themselves after it with rich Oyls and Oyntments.

12. Indian ingenuity, J. Ovington¹²

The *Indians* are in many things of matchless Ingenuity in their several Employments, and admirable Mimicks of whatever they affect to copy after. The *Bannian*, by the Strength of his Brain only, will sum up his Accounts with equal exactness, and quicker Dispatch, than the readiest Arithmetician can with his Pen. The Weavers of Silk will exactly imitate the nicest and most beautiful Patterns that are brought from *Europe*. And the very Ship-Carpenters at *Suratt* will take the Model of any *English* Vessel, in all Curiosity of its Building, and the most artificial Instances of Workmanship about it, whether they are proper for the Convenience of Burthen, or of quick Sailing, as exactly as if they had been the first Contrivers.

13. Holy ballads sung all day, J. Ovington¹³

The Pagans, who are bred to labour and Manual Occupations, consecrate each Day of the Week, and everything they take in Hand thus far; that they fill their Mouths with a pious Song at the first dawning of the Morning, as soon as ever they ingage in their several Employments and Manual Occupations, and never cease their Secular Vocation without concluding with the mixture of a Holy Rhime. When a Company of Labourers are employ'd together about the same Work, this sacred Ballad is repeated by them sometimes alternately, sometimes by single persons, the rest answering in Chorus, all the Day long, without the intermission of one quarter of an Hour.

B. GLIMPSES OF SOCIETY

1. Hindus at Goa, Tome Pires¹⁴

There are a great many heathens in this kingdom of Goa, more than in the kingdom of the Deccan. Some of them are very honoured men with large

fortunes; and almost the whole kingdom lies in their hands, because they are natives and possess the land and they pay the taxes. Some of them are noblemen with many followers and lands of their own, and are persons of great repute, and wealthy, and they live on their estates, which are very gay and fresh. The heathens of the kingdom of Goa surpass those of Cambay. They have beautiful temples of their own in this kingdom; they have priests or Brahmans of many kinds. There are some very honoured stock among these Brahmans. Some of them will not eat anything which has contained blood or anything prepared by the hand of another. These Brahmans are greatly revered throughout the country, particularly among the heathen...They are clever, prudent, learned in their religion. A Brahman would not become a Mohammedan [even] if he were made a king.

2. Hindu society in Malabar, Camoes in the *Lusiads*, 1572¹⁵

The Law that holds the people, high and low,
is fraught with false phantastick tales long past:
they go unclothed, but a wrap they throw
for decent purpose round the loins and waist:
Two modes of men are known; the nobles know
the name of Nayrs, who call the lower caste
Poleas, whom their haughty laws contain
from intermingling with the higher strain:

For men who aye had office in one guise
with mates of other office ne'er may wive;
nor may the son the calling exercise
save sire's and foresires' long as he shall live.
These Nayrs as sin and shame, forsooth, despise
the touch of outcasts, and they fain believe
that, peradventure, if the touch occur,
a thousand rites must wash their bodies pure.

In sim'ilar form the Judaean folk of old
touch'd not the peoples of Samaria-reign:
But strangenesses far stranger than I've told
of varied usages shall meet your eyne.
None save the Nayrs affront the manifold
chances of war, who like stone-wall sustain
their King from enemies, arms aye in hand,
in left the target, and in right the brand.

Entitled Brahmins are their ghostly race,
time-honour'd title of high eminence:
His far-famed precepts, eke, they still embrace
who first to Science lent a modest sense:
A living thing to kill they hold as base,
such be from ev'ry flesh their abstinence:
Only in joys venereal their delight
hath more of licence and laxer rite.

Common the women are, although confine'd
to those belonging to their husbands' blood:
Happy condition ! happy humankind,
who over jealous wrongs may never brood !
These and more customs various shall ye find
among the Mal'abar men still holding good:
Great is the country, rich in ev'ry style
of goods from China sent by sea to Nyle.

3. The Deccanis, Jan Huygen van Linschoten¹⁶

The Canaras and *Decanyns* are of the Country of *Decam*, commonly called *Ballagate*, lying behind *Goa*: many of them dwell in *Goa*. Their apparel is like the *Gusurates* and *Benianes*, except their Shooes which they weare like Antiques with cut toes, and fastned above upon their naked feet which they call *Alparcas*. They weare their Beards and haire long, as it groweth without cutting, but onely turne it vp, and dresse it as the *Benianes* and *Bramenes* vse to doe, and are like them for colour, forme, and making. They eate all things except Kine, Hogges, and Buffles, Flesh and Fish. They account the Oxe, Kow or Buffle to bee Holie, which they have commonly in the house with them, and they besmeere, stroke, and handle them with all the friendship in the world, and feed them with the same meat they vse to eate themselues. In the night time they sleepe with them in their Houses, and to conclude, use them as if they were reasonable Creatures, whereby they thinke to doe God great service. In their Eating; sitting in the House, Washing, making Cleane and other Ceremonies and Superstitions they are altogether like the *Bramenes*, *Gusurates*, and *Benianes*.

4. The Canarijs and Corumbijns, Jan Huygen van Linschoten¹⁷

The *Canarijs* and *Corumbijns* are the Countrimen, and such as deale with Tilling the Land, Fishing and such like labours. These are the most contemptible, and the miserablest people of all *India*, and live very poorly, maintaining themselves with little meat. They eate all kind of things, except Kine, Oxen,

Buffles, Hogges, and Hens flesh; their Religion is like the *Decanijns* and *Canaras*, for they are all of one Countrey and Custome, little differing: they goe naked, their middle onely covered with a cloth. The Women goe with a cloth bound about their middle beneath their nauels, and hanging downe to the middle of their thighes, and the other end thereof they cast ouer their shoulders, whereby half their brests are covered. They are in a manner blacke, or of a darke browne colour, many of them are *Christians*, because their chiefs habitation and dwelling places are on the Sea-side, in the Countries bordering upon *Goa*, for that the Palme trees doe grow vpon the Sea coasts, or upon the banks by Riuers sides. The Rice is sowed vpon low ground, which in Winter time is covered with water, wherewith those *Canarijns* doe maintaine themselves: these bring Hennes, Fruit, Milke, Egges, and other such like wares into the Towne to sell. They dwell in little straw Houses, the doores whereof are so low, that men must creepe in and out, their housshould-stuffe is a Mat upon the ground to sleepe vpon, and a Pit or hole in the ground to beat their Rice in, with a Pot or two to seeth it in, and so they live and gaine so much as it is a wonder. For commonly their Houses are full of small Children, which crall and creepe about all naked, vntill they are seven or eight yeares old, and then they cover their middle. When the women are readie to trauell with Child, they are commonly delivered when they are all alone, and their Husbands in the fields.

5. Customs in Telengana, Jean de Thevenot¹⁸

No where are the Gentiles more Superstitious than here; they have a great many Pagods with Figures of Monsters, that can excite nothing but Horror instead of Devotion, unless in those who are deluded with the Religion. These Idolaters use frequent Washings; Men, Women and Children go to the River as soon as they are out of Bed; and the rich have Water brought them to wash in. When Women lose their Husbands, they are conducted thither by their Friends, who comfort them; and they who are brought to Bed, use the same custom, almost as soon as they are delivered of their Children, and indeed, there is no Countrey where Women are so easily brought to Bed; when they come out of the Water, a *Bramen* dawbs their Fore-head with a Composition made of Saffron, and the Powder of white Sawnders [sandalwood] dissolved in Water, then they return home, where they eat a slight Breakfast; and seeing they must never eat unless they be washed, some return to the *Tanquie* or River, about noon; and others perform their Ablutions at home, before they go to Dinner.

As they have a special care not to eat any thing but what is dressed by a Gentile of their Caste, so they seldom eat any where but at home, and commonly they dress their Victuals themselves, buying their Flower, Rice, and such other Provisions in the Shops of the *Banians*, for they'll not buy any where else.

These *Banians* (as well as the *Bramens* and *Courmis*) feed on Butter, Pulse, Herbs, Sugar and Fruit; they eat neither Fish nor Flesh, and drink nothing but Water, wherein they put Coffee and Tea; they use no dishes, for fear some body of another Religion or Tribe, may have made use of the Dish, out of which they might eat; and to supply that, they put their Victuals into large Leaves of Trees, which they throw away when they are empty, nay, there are some of them who eat alone, and will not suffer neither their Wives nor Children at Table with them...

PROFESSIONS FOLLOWED BY HINDUS

6. Gujaratis excel as seamen, Tome Pires¹⁹

The Gujaratees were better seamen and did more navigating than the other people of these parts and so they have larger ships and more men to man them. They have great pilots and do a great deal of navigation. The heathen of Cambay – and in older times the Gujaratees – held that they must never kill anyone, nor must they have an armed man in their company. If they were captured and [their captors] wanted to kill them all, they did not resist. This is the Gujarat law among the heathen. Now they have many men-at-arms to defend their ships.

7. Leading merchants, jewellers, workmen, brokers, Francisco Pelsaert²⁰

The Hindus...have three ordinary sources of livelihood. First there are the leading merchants and jewellers, and they are most able and expert in their business. Next there are the workmen, for practically all work as is done by Hindus, the Moslems practising scarcely any crafts but dyeing and weaving, which are followed by Hindus in some places, but by Moslems everywhere.

Thirdly there are the clerks and brokers: all the business of the lords' palaces and of the Moslem merchants is done by Hindus book-keeping, buying, and selling. They are particularly clever brokers, and are consequently generally employed as such throughout all these countries, except for the sale of horses, oxen, camels, elephants, or any living creatures, which they will not handle as the Moslems do.

C. DWELLINGS

1. Houses of the rich, use of local materials makes them pleasant, Francisco Pelsaert²¹

...I shall now speak of the houses which are built here. They are noble and pleasant, with many apartments, but there is not much in the way of an

upper story except a flat roof, on which to enjoy the evening air. There are usually gardens and tanks inside the house; and in the hot weather the tanks are filled daily with fresh water, drawn by oxen from wells. The water is drawn, or sometimes raised by a wheel, in such quantity that it flows through a leaden pipe and rises like a fountain; in this climate water and plants are a refreshment and recreation unknown in our cold country. These houses last for a few years only, because the walls are built with mud instead of mortar, but the white plaster of the walls is very noteworthy, and far superior to anything in our country. They use unslaked lime, which is mixed with milk, gum, and sugar into a thin paste. When the walls have been plastered with lime, they apply this paste, rubbing it with well-designed trowels until it is smooth; then they polish it steadily with agates, perhaps for a whole day, until it is dry and hard, and shines like alabaster, or can even be used as a looking-glass.

2. Abode of common people, Niccolao Manucci²²

Their dwellings also are very small. Excluding the temples of their false gods, some of which cost great sums, and the palaces of a few kings, princes, *et cetera*, which are built of brick and mortar, and even then have no architectural style, all other houses are constructed of earth and pieces of wood bound together with ropes, without much regard to appearances. These wooden posts serve as supporting pillars, and the roof is of thatch. In this way they build a house without using a single nail. The floors of the houses are not stone-paved, nor covered with the sort of cement they make in this country of lime, eggs, and other ingredients mixed together. The floors are of pounded earth only, spread over with a wash of cow's dung. This is the bed of the great majority of humble people in this country, who have no other mattress to lie on. However, rich people have a mat or a quilt on which they sleep; and those that possess this much believe themselves in possession of one of the greatest luxuries in the world.

3. Dwellings in Bengal, Fray Sebastian Manrique²³

This people usually live in huts of mud and clay, low and thatched with straw or olas, which is the leaf of a palm. They keep their dwellings very clean, usually scouring them over constantly with the excrement of cattle dung mixed with mud...

D. DRESS

1. Dress of heathens at Vijayanagar, Duarte Barbosa²⁴

The natives of this land are Heathen like himself [the king]; they are

tawny men, nearly white. Their hair is long, straight and black. The men are of good height with 'physnomies' like our own: the women go very trimly clad; their men wear certain clothes as a girdle below, would very tightly in many folds, and short white shirts of cotton or silk or coarse brocade, which are gathered between the thighs but open in front: on their heads they carry small turbans, and some wear silk or brocade caps, they wear their rough shoes on their feet (without stockings). They wear also other large garments thrown over their shoulders like capes, and are accompanied by pages walking behind them with their swords in their hands. The substances with which they are always anointed are these: white sanders-wood [sandal-wood], aloes, camphor, musk, and saffron, all ground fine and kneaded with rosewater. With these they anoint themselves after bathing, and so they are always very highly scented. They wear many rings set with precious stones and many earrings set with fine pearls in their ears. As well as the page armed with a sword, whom, as I have said, they take with them, they take also another who holds an umbrella (lit. a shade-hat with a handle) to shade them and to keep off the rain, and of these some are made of finely worked silk with many golden tassels, and many precious stones and seed-pearls. They are so made as to open and shut, and many cost three of four hundred cruzados.

2. Women's dress at Vijayanagar, Duarte Barbosa²⁵

The women wear white garments of very thin cotton, or silk of bright colours, five yards long: one part of which is girt round them below, and the other part they throw over one shoulder and across their breasts in such a way that one arm and shoulder remains uncovered, as with a scarf (*reguacho*). They wear leather shoes well embroidered in silk; their heads are uncovered and the hair is tightly gathered into a becoming knot on the top of the head, and in their hair they put many scented flowers. In the side of one of the nostrils they make a small hole, through which they put a fine gold wire with a pearl, sapphire or ruby pendant. They have their ears bored as well, and in them they wear earrings set with many jewels; on their necks they wear necklaces of gold and jewels and very fine coral beads, and bracelets of gold and precious stones and many good coral beads are fitted to their arms. Thus the more part of this people is very wealthy.

3. Rich apparel in Vijayanagar, Cesare Federici²⁶

The apparel that they use in Bezeneger is Velvet, Satten, Damask, Scarlet, or white Bumbast cloth, according to the estate of the person, with long Hats on their heads, called Colae, made of Velvet, Satten, Damask, or Scarlet, girding themselves in stead of girdles with some fine white Bumbast cloth: they have breeches after the order of the Turkes: they weare on their feet plaine high

things called of them Aspergh, and at their eares they have hanging great plentie of gold.

4. Bindi and sindoor, Ralph Fitch²⁷

Their women have their necks, armes and eares decked with rings of silver, copper, tinne, and with round hoopes made of ivorie, adorned with amber stones and with many agats, and they are marked with a great spot of red in their foreheads and a stroke of red up to the crowne, and so it runneth three maner of wayes.

5. Apparel of Baniyas at Goa, Jan Huygen van Linschoten²⁸

Their Apparell is a thinne white Gowne vpon their naked bodies, from the head to the feet, and made fast on the side vnder their armes, their Shooes of red leather, sharpe at the toes, and turning vp like hookes, their Beards shauen like the *Turkes*, sauing onely their Moustachios, they weare on their Heads a white cloth three or foure times wrapped about like the *Bramenes*, and vnder their haire a Starre vpon their fore-heads, which they rub euery morning with a little white Sanders tempered with water, and three or foure graines of Rice among it, which the *Bramenes* also doe as superstitious Ceremonie of their Law. Their Bodies are commonly anoynted with Sanders and other sweet Woods, which they doe verie mach vse, as also all the *Indians*.

Their Women are apparelled like the *Bramenes* wiues; they eate like the *Mahometans*, and all other *Indian* vpon the ground. In their Houses or Assemblies they sit on the ground vpon Mats or Carpets, and always leaue their Shooes without the doore, so that they are alwayes bare-foot in their Houses: wherefore commonly the heeles of their shooes are neuer pulled vp, to sau labour of vntying or vndoing them, they haue a thousand other Heathenish superstitions which are not worth the rehearsall.

6. Dress in Bengal, Fray Sebastian Manrique²⁹

The common people, both men and women, wear cotton cloth, unshaped and unsewn. The men dress in cloth of six to seven handbreadths, worn from the waist downwards; above they are naked, and they also wear no shoes. They wear on the head a turban of from twelve to fourteen spans long and two wide, costing in most places a quarter of a rupee. This is how the common people go about. Those who are better off and of higher station carry, thrown round the shoulders and upper part of the body, a piece of cloth of the same length as that mentioned above.

The women wear the same kind of cloth but in greater quantity, usually from eighteen to twenty spans, with which they completely cover the body. In some districts this ordinary cloth is so cheap that a woman can dress herself

for four reals [one rupee]. The women usually have their arms covered with armlets and bracelets, which latter differ in size and pattern from the armlets. These rings are worn on the upper, central, and lower arm, so that the armlets may strike the eye better: they also wear large rings in the ears and other similar ornaments. In the walls of the nostrils, especially in the left wall, they carry a tiny ring of gold or silver; a few, who can afford it, adding one or two valuable pearls to it. They wear necklaces as well, which are usually made of bell-metal, a metallic substance superior to what we call Morisco latten.

7. White linen in common use, dress clean and easy, Pietro Della Valle³⁰

...amongst the Indian Men, both Mahometans and Pagans, agreeably to what *Strabo* testifies, they did of old wear onely white linnen, more or less fine according to the quality of the persons and the convenience they have of spending; which linnen is altogether of Bumbast [old word for cotton] or Cotton, (there being no Flax in *India*) and for the most part very fine in comparison of these of our Countries. The Garment which they wear next to the skin serves both for coat and shirt, from the girdle upwards being adorn'd upon the breast and hanging down in many folds to the middle of the Leg. Under this Cassack, from the girdle downwards, they wear a pair of long Drawers of the same Cloth, which cover not only their Thighs, but legs also to the Feet and 'tis a piece of gallantry to have it wrinkled in many folds upon the Legs. The naked Feet are no otherwise confin'd but to a slipper, and that easie to be pull'd off without the help of the Hand; this mode being convenient, in regard of the heat of the Country and the frequent use of standing and walking upon Tapistry in their Chambers. Lastly, the Head with all the hair, which the Gentiles (as of old they did also, by the report of *Strabo*) keep long, contrary to the Mahometans who shave it, is bound up in a small and very neat Turbant, of almost a quadrangular form, a little long, and flat on the top. They who go most gallant, use to wear their Turbant only strip'd with silk of several colours upon the white, and sometimes with Gold; and like wise, their girdles wrought in Silk and Gold, instead of plain white. I was so taken with this Indian dress, in regard of its cleanliness and easiness, and for the goodly show me thought it had on horse-back, with the Scemiter girt on and the buckler hanging at a shoulder belt, besides a broad and short dagger of a very strange shape, ty'd with tassell'd strings to the girdle, that I caus'd one to be made for myself, complete in every point, and to carry with me to shew it in *Italy*.

8. Preference for white coloured clothes common also in Egypt, Pietro Della Valle³¹

...of white too they are so enamour'd that all Men are generally clothed

with it; a custom per-adventure deriv'd to them from *Ægypt* where it was in use, as *Herodotus* writes, and whence perhaps *Pythagoras* himself learnt it, who went cloth'd in white, as we find noted by *Aelian* and others. And I observe that in many particulars the manners of the present *Indians* much resemble those of the ancient *Ægyptians*; but since the *Ægyptians*, who descended from *Cham* the son of *Noah*, were a very ancient people, I rather believe that the *Indians* learnt from the *Ægyptians* than the *Ægyptians* from the *Indians*; and 'tis known, that from *Ægypt* there was always Navigation and Commerce into *India* by the Southern Ocean.

9. Dress of Gentile women, red favourite colour, Pietro Della Valle³²

...the Indian Gentile Women commonly use no other colour but red, or certain linnen stamp'd with works of sundry colours, (which they call *Cit*) but all upon red, or wherein red is more conspicuous then the rest, whence their attire seems onely red at a distance. And for the most part they use no garment, but wear onely a close Wastecat, the sleeves of which reach not beyond the middle of the Arm, the rest whereof to the Hand is cover'd with bracelets of Gold or Silver or Ivory, or such other things according to the ability of the persons. From the waste downwards they wear a long coat down to the Foot, as I have formerly writ that the Women do in the Province of *Moghostan* in *Persia*, near *Ormuz*. When they go abroad, they cover themselves with a cloak of the ordinary shape, like a sheet, which is also us'd by the Mahometans, and generally by all Women in the East; yet it is of a red colour, or else of *Cit* upon a red ground, that is of linnen stamp'd with small works of sundry colour upon red. Those that have them adorn themselves with many gold-works, and jewels, especially their ears with pendants sufficiently enormous, wearing a circle of Gold or Silver at their ears, the diametre whereof is oftentimes above half a span and 'tis made of a plate two fingers broad, and engraven with sundry works, which is a very disproportionate thing.

10. Red also colour of swamis, Pietro Della Valle³³

The red colour amongst these *Indians* is, besides by the Women, worn also by the *Sami* [Swami], who are a kind of religious persons; with red the *Gioghi* [Jogis], who live like Hermits and go about begging, sometimes paint their bodies in many parts, and also with red blended with yellow, that is with some parcel of Sanders or Saffron, almost all the Indian Gentiles dye their foreheads, and sometimes their garments; accordingly as *Strabo* reports, from the testimony of *Onesicritus* [who accompanied Alexander to India], they did likewise in the time of *Alexander* the Great. Lastly, they wear red Turbans upon their Heads, and their Girdles are oftner wrought with red then any other colour.

11. Dress in Calicut, hair worn long, Pietro Della Valle³⁴

...as for clothing they need little, both Men and Women going quite naked, saving that they have a piece either of Cotton, or Silk, hanging down from the girdle to the knees and covering their shame; the better sort are either wont to wear it all blew, or white strip'd with Azure, or Azure and some other colour; a dark blew being most esteem'd amongst them. Moreover both Men and Women wear their hair long and ty'd about the head; the Women with a lock hanging on one side under the Ear becomingly enough as almost all Indian Women do; the dressing of whose heads is, in my opinion, the gallantest that I have seen in any other nation. The Men have a lock hanging down from the crown of the head, sometimes a little inclin'd on one side; some of them use a small colour'd head-band, but the Women use none at all. Both sexes have their Arms adorned with bracelets, their ears with pendants, and their necks with Jewels; the Men commonly go with their naked Swords and Bucklers, or other Arms, in their hands, as I said of those of *Balagate* [Balaghat].

12. Dress of Nair kings, Pietro Della Valle³⁵

The King and all others, as I have said, commonly go naked; onely they have a cloth wherewith they are girded, reaching to the mid-leg. Yet, when upon any occasion the King is minded to appear much in Majesty, he puts on onely a white vestment of very fine cotton, never using either Cloth of Gold, or Silk. Others also when they please may wear the like garment, but not in the King's presence, in which 'tis not lawful for anyone to appear otherwise than naked, saving the cloth above-mentioned. The Arms which everyone wears must not be laid aside at any time, especially not before the King; and, as I have elsewhere noted, everyone keeps to one sort of Arms which he first takes to, without ever changing.

13. Dress of Hindu nobility, Niccolao Manucci³⁶

With respect to their fashions of dress, I may say that the great nobles wear nothing more than the following: They bind their hair with a scarf of very fine gold stuff that they call *romals* (*rumali*). Then they tie round their waist a piece of white cloth (as is the usual practice in India); it is about four cubits in length and has a red border. It comes down to their knees. Above this they wear a white wrapper; but it is to be noted that the manner of putting this on varies in each caste. Some among them wear gold or silver rings on the toes. The children of these last carry from birth to seven years of age little bells on their legs, either of gold or silver, and a little chain of the same metal round the waist. As for the rest, they are no more covered than when they were brought into the world.

Some great lords wear a sort of turban on their heads, and put on a gown

of white cloth that they call a *cabaye* (*qaba*), and underneath it very tight drawers; on their feet they have shoes of velvet or of red leather.

Remove shoes on entering house

These they remove when they enter a house or speak to a person of quality, for it is a great piece of bad manners in this country to speak to such a person with your shoes on and your head uncovered.

14. Dress of ordinary people, daytime garment serves as night time sheet, Niccolao Manucci³⁷

The above is the apparel of the princes and the richest nobility. As for the soldiers, labourers, and other ordinary people, they have no more than a cloth bound round their head, and a little string round their middle, attached to which is a morsel of cloth, a span wide and a cubit in length, about the size of one of our ordinary napkins. With this cloth they cover the parts of the body that natural modesty requires to be concealed. Lastly, they have another cloth, somewhat of the same size, bound round the body, which serves in the day-time as a garment and at night as a bed, their mattress being identical with the damp earth. A stone or a piece of wood serves as bolster. Thus what would be looked on in Europe as a severe penance is in this country the ordinary habit. There are some so badly provided that they content themselves with the piece of cloth spoken of above as used to cover the private parts. In this equipment they hold themselves fully dressed and fit to talk to anyone, wherever it might be.

15. Ear piercing common, sari worn after girl turns ten, Niccolao Manucci³⁸

From the age of twelve and upwards almost all of them [girls] allow their hair to grow long; up to that age they wear only a small tail of hair on the top of the head, like that of the little boys. They do not bind anything on, nor do they make the hair into tresses, but make it into a roll on one side of the head. All have their ears pierced, but not in the European way, for the holes are so large that the ears droop almost to the shoulders. In these holes they wear their ornaments, each according to her degree or her wealth. The custom of having the ears pierced is in this country common to men and women.

Women, when they are not widows, also wear ornaments on the neck, according to the diversity of their castes or of their wealth. Up to the age of nine or ten years they have no more clothing than, as I described above, is worn by boys up to the same age. After that time they wear a piece of white or red cotton cloth that they bind on like a petticoat. Sometimes the *pane*

(*punjam*), – for so they call this cloth – is striped in two colours. One half of the said *pane* (*punjam*) is thrown over the shoulders or the head when speaking to a person of any position; but when they go to the well or a spring to fetch water, and when at work in their houses, they keep the whole *pane* (*punjam*) bound round the waist, and thence upwards are naked. They wear nothing on the feet, not even princesses and queens; but the latter wear on their legs jewels of great value, and any other women who are able to afford it do the same.

16. Dress of royal ladies at Tanjore, Jon Olafsson³⁹

They anoint themselves daily, and are adorned with the most costly finery: around their waists they have gold cloth sewn and adorned with precious stones, gold rings set with precious stones on their fingers and toes, also gold on their foreheads and in their ears and nostrils: bracelets about their wrists and ankles, and further, brocaded silk studded with precious stones round their heads; and on their breast a kerchief worth much money, adorned with pearls and gold jewels. All this finery they wear every day.

17. Wear hair long as did their ancestors, Jean de Thevenot⁴⁰

The Indians wear their Hair for Ornament, contrary to the Mahometans who shave their Heads; and in that, as in many other things, the Indians imitate their Ancestours.

18. Difference between dress of Gentiles and Moors, J. Ovington⁴¹

For a distinction between the *Moors* and *Bannians*, the *Moors* tie their Caba's always on the Right side, and the *Bannians* on the left...

E. CLEANLINESS

1. Importance of bathing

(a) King of Cochin insists on daily bath even when ill, Cristovao da Costa⁴²

In the year 1569 (when I was residing in Santa Cruz de Cochin, as the physician of the Royal Hospital) the King of Cochin (Brahmin and brother-in-arms of the Christian King of Portugal) fell ill with a serious disease of continuous fever which overtook him when he was weak and wasted of venereal use, and wishing to be treated by me alone, without the presence of his physicians. When I first called on him, he told me that he had to take bath daily even if it cost him his life.

(b) Emphasis on frequent washing, Jan Huygen van Linschoten⁴³

They use to drinke out of a Copper kanne with a spout, whereby they let the water fall downe into their mouthes and neuer touch the Pot with their lippes. Their Houses are commonly strawed with Kow-dung, which they say killeth Fleas. They are verie cleane on their Bodies, for euerie day they wash themselves all their bodie ouer. They wash themselves with the left hand, because they eate with the right hand, and use no Spoones.

(c) Bathing no matter how cold, travel 5-600 kos for dip in Ganges, Francisco Pelsaert⁴⁴

The Hindus are more punctilious and much stricter than the Moslems in their ceremonies. No one, man or woman, will omit to wash the body in the morning, however cold it may be. The common people go to a river or running water, while the rich bathe at home; and they will not touch food till they have washed. They sit down to eat, naked and with bare head, inside a well-marked enclosure, which no one enters while they are eating; if they are disturbed, they will give up that meal. They will not omit to go and bathe in the Ganges once a year; those who can manage it will travel 500 or 600 kos for the purpose. They bathe in October, and they are convinced that by doing so they are purified of all their sins. They bring back a little of the water of the Ganges and keep it in their house, which, so they think, will protect them from sorcery or witchcraft. The water certainly has one remarkable quality, in that it never stinks, and no worms appear in it, even if it is kept for 100 years, and consequently they regard the river as sacred. The bathing-place lies about 40 kos from Agra.

2. Use of cow dung for purification, Pietro Della Valle⁴⁵

[Cow dung]...besides cleanliness, is to them a Ceremonial Rite, which they think hath the virtue to purifie. But having observ'd it too in the houses of Christians, I find that indeed it cleanses exquisitely, and makes the floores and pavements of houses handsome, smooth and bright.

F. FOOD HABITS

1. Baniyas of Gujarat eat no food of red colour, Jan Huygen van Linschoten⁴⁶

They eate no Radishes, Onions, Garlick, nor any kind of Herbe that hath any colour of Red in it, nor Egges, for they thinke there is blood in them. They drinke not any Wine, nor vse any Vineger, but onely water.

2. Baniyas would starve to death than accept food from non-countrymen, Jan Huygen van Linschoten⁴⁷

They are so dangerous of eating and drinking with other men which are not their Countrimen, that they would rather starue to death then once to do it. It happenneth oftentimes that they sayle in the *Portugals* ships from *Goa* to *Cochin*, to sell their Wares, and to traffique with the *Portugals*, and then they make their prouisions for so long time as they thinke to stay vpon the way, which they take aboord with them, and thereupon they feed. And if the time falleth out longer, then they made account of, their water and prouision being all spent, as it happened, when I sailed from *Goa* to *Cochin*, they had rather die for hunger and thirst then once to touch the *Christians* meat. They wash themselues before they eate, as the *Bramenes* doe.

3. Diet of Bengal, Fray Sebastian Manrique⁴⁸

Their daily meal consists of rice with which, if they have nothing else to add, they take salt and are satisfied. They also use a kind of herb which is usually called Xaga [shaka, edible vegetables]; those better off use milk, *ghi*, and other lacteous preparations: fish is little eaten, especially by those who live inland.

4. Live on herbs, milk and butter, Edward Terry⁴⁹

Some of which poore seduced infidels will eate of nothing that hath life; and these live upon herbs and milke and butter and cheese and sweet-meates, of which they make divers kindes, whereof the most wholsome is greene ginger, as well preserved there as in any part of the world. Others will eate fish, and no living thing else. The Rashbootes eate swines-flesh, most hatfull to the Mahometans. Some will eate of one kinde of flesh, some of another; but all the Gentiles abstaine from beefe, out of the excellent esteeme they have of kine; and therefore give of the King yeerly (beside his other exactions) great summes of money as a ransome for those creatures; whence among other good provision we meete there but with little beefe.

5. Water preferred drink, Edward Terry⁵⁰

This ancient drinke of the world (water) is the common drinke of India...Many of the people who are strict in their religion drinke no wine at all. They use a liquor more healthfull then pleasant, they call *Cohha* (coffee: Arabic *kahwa*): a blacke seed boyled in water, which doth little alter the taste of the water.

6. Drinking water without touching cup, Pietro Della Valle⁵¹

From this averseness to communicate one with another, particularly in the use of eating and drinking vessels, concerning which they are most strict,

is sprung a strange Custom, which I was delighted not only to see, but also sometimes out of gallantry to imitate in conversation. It happens very often during hot weather, both in Travelling and in Towns, that people have need of refreshing themselves and drinking of a little water; but because every one hath not a drinking-vessel of his own ready, to avoid defiling or being defil'd by his companion's cup, there's a way found out whereby any person may drink in that, or any other whatever, without scruple or danger of any either active or passive contamination. This is done by drinking in such manner that the vessel touches not the lips or mouth of him who drinks; for it is held up on high with the hand over the mouth, and he that lifts it up highest, and holds it furthest from his mouth, shows himself most mannerly; and thus pouring the liquor out of the cup into the mouth, they drink round while there is any left, or so long as they please.

7. Fear of pollution, Pietro Della Valle⁵²

And herein they are so scrupulous that even amongst the Indians themselves one of more noble Race not only neither eats, nor makes use of the same Clothes or Vessels, nor communicates in anything with one less noble, but also endures not to be touch'd by him; which if it fall out by chance that he be, he must purifie himself from the defilement by washings and other arrogant Ceremonies. And hence 'tis a pretty sight to behold the great respect which upon this account the ignoble bear to the more noble then themselves, and how upon meeting in the street the ignoble not onely give place, but dance wildly up and down for fear of rushing against the noble, and polluting them in any measure; which, if they should not do, the Noble, and especially the Souldiers, would make them do it to the Musick of blows.

8. Some in laborious professions eat meat, Brahmins rarely, Pietro Della Valle⁵³

Wherein the *Ragiputi* Souldiers, with the wonted military licentiousness, take most liberty without thinking themselves prejudic'd as to the degree of nobility. Next to them, the meanest and most laborious Professions are more licentious in eating then others, because they need more sustenance; some of which drink Wine too, from which the others more strict abstain to avoid ebriety and so from all other beverage that inebriates.

But those of other Races, whose employments admit more rest and a better life, are also more sparing and rigorous in the use of meats, especially the Brachmans, as I said, dedicated wholly to Learning and the Service of Temples, as the most noble of all. In testimony whereof they alone have the priviledge to wear a certain Ensign of Nobility in their Sect, whereby they are distinguisht from others; 'tis a fillet of three braids....

9. Cow's meat taboo, Niccolao Manucci⁵⁴

Since neither Brahmins, ascetics, monks, nor the learned eat any meat or fish in this country (eggs, being here included under the head of meat, are also avoided), I think it as well here to state the food and manner of eating of the other castes. None of those I have hitherto spoken of ever eat cow's flesh. To do so is a very low thing, a defilement, and sinful beyond all imagination. But they eat all the other meats consumed in Europe, and, in addition thereto, rats and lizards. As for shell-fish, these also are classed among the most impure of things, and are not used except by the pariahs. However, almost all the castes eat of the other kinds of meat, and judge it to be most delicious fare.

The food of these people is usually placed on a little cooked rice, and it consists generally of a portion of dry and salted fish. For goats, sheep, chicken, rats, and lizards, are only for the nobility, and if other men eat of these, it is solely at their festivals and at marriages. Their plate is a leaf, as described above, or a small plate of copper, out of which the whole family eats one after the other.

10. Mode of eating, Niccolao Manucci⁵⁵

The ordinary dwelling of these Hindus being as poverty-stricken as I have described it, their mode of life is no better. For in this land there are no tables or chairs; everybody sits upon the ground. They do not use table-napkins, table-cloths, knives, spoons, or forks, salt-cellars, dishes, or plates; they eat no bread, they drink no wine, and all eat seated upon the ground.

Princes and kings

Princes and kings eat in the following manner: They are seated on the ground on a piece of fine cloth. Then the house or the room in which they are to eat is rubbed over with a solution of cowdung. As the palaces of kings have floors made of a cement which looks like fine marble, there they do nothing more than throw down some cowdung mixed in water, and then wipe the floor with a piece of cloth. The floor then looks like a looking-glass. Without all this ceremonial of cleansing with the dung of this animal, as above described, no person of quality sits down to eat. These preparations finished, they bring a great platter of enamelled gold, which is placed on the ground in front of the diners, but without allowing it to touch the cloth on which they are seated. After this some small gold dishes are placed around, and the food is brought from the kitchen in bowls or vessels of silver, fashioned in the shape of cooking-pots. First of all, from these bowls they place rice cooked without salt or other condiment in the large dish, and on this they put some stew. If the whole cannot be contained in the large dish, they put the remainder in the small dishes round about it.

Then the rajah takes whatever pleases him, throwing it with his hand into a plate of rice, where he mixes it and rolls it into balls, which he throws into his mouth with the right hand. The left hand is not allowed to touch any food. All is swallowed without mastication. This fashion they consider very cleanly, and that there is no better way of satisfying oneself; and they say that Europeans eat rice like pigs.

Then, before finishing the meal, they send as much as they think sufficient to their wives. For in this country these never eat with their husbands, even though those waiting on the king be eunuchs, children, or women.

Eating habits of ascetics and Brahmins

The way of eating among the other castes who are not kings is as follows: Monks, ascetics, Brahmins, and the learned before eating wash their hands and bodies. Then they put upon their foreheads, stomach, shoulders, knees and sides a little ashes mixed in water. This ash is either of a white earth they call *naman* (*namam*), or of sandal, according to their caste or the faith they follow. Next they enter the house, finding its floors all rubbed over with cowdung, in the way I have spoken of. They bind round their body a piece of cloth, and sit down with their legs crossed, or upon a small mat of about one cubit in length. Before them is placed the large leaf of certain trees, or smaller leaves of other trees stitched together, not with needle and thread, but with rushes. Upon this leaf is put first of all a pinch of salt and two drops of butter, with which they anoint or rub the leaf. This ceremony completed, they deposit on this platter some rice cooked in water without salt, followed by a little vegetables and some green stuff. When this is eaten, they throw upon the rice left on the said leaf a little sour curds or some whey. When all this food has been swallowed, they rise from the place and move to a courtyard or garden, if there is one in the house where they live. If there is not, they go into the street, and there bathe their hands, mouth, and feet. They do not return to their dwellings till the leaves they have eaten from have been removed, and the ground has been rubbed over afresh in the way already mentioned. For they say that if they did so their bodies would be as polluted as the house.

11. Fast frequently, Jean de Thevenot⁵⁶

The Gentiles generally are great Fasters, and none of them let a fortnight pass over without mortifying themselves by Abstinence, and then they fast four and twenty hours; but that is but the ordinary Fast, for there are a great many Gentiles (and especially Women) who will fast six or seven days; and they say, there are some that will Fast a whole month, without eating any more than a handful of Rice a day, and others that will eat nothing at all, only drink

Water, in which they boyl a Root, called *Criata*, which grows towards *Cambaye*, and is good against many distempers; it makes the Water bitter, and strengthens the Stomach.

12. The way Baniyas prepare their food, Jean de Thevenot⁵⁷

Most part of the Gentiles, Heads of Families in *Viziapour*, dress their own Victuals themselves; he that do's it having swept the place where he is to dress any thing, draws a Circle, and confines himself within it, with all that he is to make use of; if he stand in need of any thing else, it is given him at a distance, because no body is to enter within that Circle, and if any chanced to enter it, all would be prophaned, and the Cook would throw away what he had dressed, and be obliged to begin again. When the Victuals are ready, they are divided into three parts, The first part is for the Poor, the second for the Cow of the House, and the third portion for the Familie, and of this third they make as many Commons [shares] as there are Persons; and seeing they think it not civil to give their leavings to the poor, they give them likewise to the Cow.

13. Gentiles will not eat with others, Giovanni Careri⁵⁸

All the Sects of *Gentils* on this side *Ganges*, are very scrupulous as to Eating with Christians, and *Mahometans*, or making use of the same Utensils. But those beyond *Malaca* make no Difficulty of it.

14. Tea drinking common

(a) Cleanses system, John Albert de Mandelslo⁵⁹

At our ordinary meetings every day we took only *The*, which is commonly used all over India, not only among those of the Country, but also among the Dutch and English, who take it as a Drug that cleanses the Stomach, and digest the superfluous humours, by a temperate heat particular thereto.

(b) Baniyas also tea drinkers, J. Ovington⁶⁰

The *Bannians* are not restrain'd from the liberal Draughts of Tea and Coffee, to revive their wasted Spirits any part of the Day...

15. Curd, J. Ovington⁶¹

Dye [dahi] is a particular innocent kind of Diet, fed upon by the *Indians* for the most part about Noon. It is sweet Milk turn'd thick, mix'd with boil'd Rice and Sugar, and is very effectual against the Rage of Fevers and of Fluxes, the prevailing Distempers of India.

G. BETEL EATING

1. Beneficent qualities, Sir Thomas Roe⁶²

...it bytts in the mouth, avoydes rume, cooles the head, strengthens the teeth, and is all their phisicke...

2. For health's sake and delight, Pietro Della Valle⁶³

These leaves [*Pan*] the Indians use to champ or chaw all day long, either for health's sake or for entertainment and delight (as some other Nations for the same reasons, or rather through evil custome, continually take Tobacco). And therewith they mix a little ashes of sea-shels and some small pieces of an Indian nut sufficiently common, which here they call *Foufel*, and in other places *Areca*; a very dry fruit, seeming within like perfect wood; and being of an astringent nature they hold it good to strengthen the Teeth. Which mixture, besides its comforting the stomack, hath also a certain biting taste, wherewith they are delighted; and as they chaw it, it strangely dyes their lips and mouths red, which also they account gallant; but I do not, because it appears not to be natural.

3. Betel offered by way of politeness, Niccolao Manucci⁶⁴

Betel, or *pan*, is a leaf similar to the ivy-leaf, but the betel leaf is longer; it is very medicinal, and eaten by everybody in India. They chew it along with 'arrecas' (*areca*), which physicians call *Avelans Indicas* (Indian filberts), and a little *catto* (*kath* or *katha*), which is the dried juice of a certain plant that grows in India. Smearing the *betel* leaf with a little of the *kath*, they chew them together, which makes the lips scarlet and gives a pleasant scent. It happens with the eaters of *betel*, as to those accustomed to take tobacco, that they are unable to refrain from taking it many times a day. Thus the women of India, whose principal business it is to tell stories and eat *betel*, are unable to remain many minutes without having it in their mouths.

It is an exceedingly common practice in India to offer betel leaf by way of politeness, chiefly among the great men, who, when anyone pays them a visit, offer *betel* at the time of leaving as a mark of goodwill, and of the estimation in which they hold the person who is visiting them. It would be a great piece of rudeness to refuse it.

H. ECONOMIC DISPARITIES

1. High level of endurance of common people, Francisco Pelsaert⁶⁵

...the utter subjection and poverty of the common people – poverty so great

and miserable that the life of the people can be depicted or accurately described only as the home of stark want and the dwelling-place of bitter woe. Nevertheless, the people endure patiently, professing that they do not deserve anything better; and scarcely anyone will make an effort, for a ladder by which to climb higher is hard to find, because a workman's children can follow no occupation other than that of their father, nor can they intermarry with any other caste.

Condition of artisans, servants and shopkeepers

There are three classes of the people who are indeed nominally free, but whose status differs very little from voluntary slavery – workmen, peons or servants, and shopkeepers.

Workmen – low wages, oppression by the powerful

For the workman there are two scourges, the first of which is low wages. Goldsmiths, painters [those who made 'painted' cloth, or chintz], embroiderers, carpet-makers, cotton or silk-weavers, blacksmiths, coppersmiths, tailors, masons, builders, stone-cutters, a hundred crafts in all, for a job which one man would do in Holland here passes through four men's hands before it is finished, – any of these by working from morning to night can earn only 5 or 6 *tackas* [tankas], that is, 4 or 5 stivers in wages. The second [scourge] is [the oppression of] the Governor, the nobles, the Diwan, the Kotwal, the Bakhshi, and other royal officers. If any of these wants a workman, the man is not asked if he is willing to come, but is seized in the house or in the street, well beaten if he should dare to raise any objection, and in the evening paid half his wages, or nothing at all.

Khichri normal diet

From these facts the nature of their food can be easily inferred. They know little of the taste of meat. For their monotonous daily food they have nothing but a little *khichri*, made of green pulse mixed with rice, which is cooked with water over a little fire until the moisture has evaporated, and eaten hot with butter in the evening; in the day time they munch a little parched pulse or other grain, which they say suffices for their lean stomachs...

Profusion of servants in houses of lords, paid a pittance

Peons or servants are exceedingly numerous in this country, for everyone – be he mounted soldier, merchant, or king's official – keeps as many as his position and circumstances permit. Outside the house, they serve for display, running continually before their master's horse; inside, they do the work of the house, each knowing his own duties. The *tziurewardar*[?] attends only to his horse, the *bailwan*, or carter, to his cart and oxen; the *farrash*, or tent-

pitcher, attends to his tent on the way, spreads carpets, both on the march and in the house, and looks after the *diwan-khana* or sitting room; the *masalchi*, or torch-bearer, looks to his torch, and lights lamps and candles in the evening; the *sarwan*, or camel-driver, looks to his camel; and there are two or three *mahawats* or attendants to each elephant according to its size. The *tsantel*, or messenger, a plume on his head and two bells at his belt, runs at a steady pace, ringing the bells; they carry their master's letters a long distance in a short time, covering 25 to 30 kos in a day; but they eat much *postibangh* or opium regularly, so that they do not feel the continuous work or fatigue. They run on with dizzy head; they will not as a rule answer anyone who asks where they come from or where they are going, but hurry straight on. These messengers may bring their masters, who hold official positions as governors, into great credit, or disgrace, with the King, because letters on important official business are sometimes delayed, and if the news they contain should reach the King first from some other place, whether nearer or more distant, the officer will be blamed for negligence, and dismissed from his post. There are many more servants in the crowd, whom it would take too long to enumerate; in the houses of the great lords each servant confines himself strictly to his own duties, and it is like life on the Portuguese ships, where the chief boatswain, if he saw the foremast fall overboard, would not disgrace himself by going forward or on to the forecastle, though he could save the mast by doing so.

For this slack and lazy service the wages are paid by the Moguls only after large deductions, for most of the great lords reckon 40 days to the month, and pay from 3 to 4 rupees for that period; while wages are often left several months in arrears, and then paid in worn-out clothes or other things. If, however, the master holds office or power, the servants are arrogant, oppressing the innocent, and sinning on the strength of their master's greatness...

Shopkeepers forced to sell below cost

Whatever he may deal in – spices, drugs, fruit, cotton goods, cloth, or anything else – the shopkeeper is held in greater respect than the workman, and some of them are even well-to-do; but they must not let the fact be seen, or they will be the victims of a trumped-up charge, and whatever they have will be confiscated in legal form, because informers swarm like flies round the governors, and make no difference between friends and enemies, perjuring themselves when necessary in order to remain in favour. Further, they are subject to a rule that if the King's nobles, or governors, should require any of their goods, they must sell for very little – less than half price; for to begin with, they must give great weight for small coins, the difference being 20 per cent; then 9 per cent is deducted for *dasturi* [commission]; then clerks,

overseers, cashiers, and others all know very well how to get their share; so that in such circumstances the unfortunate shopkeeper may be robbed in a single hour of the profits of a whole month, although they bear the general cost.

This is a short sketch of the life of these poor wretches, who, in their submissive bondage, may be compared to poor, contemptible earthworms, or to little fishes, which, however closely they may conceal themselves, are swallowed up by the great monsters of a wild sea.

Rich live off the sweat of poor

...the pen which has described bitter poverty, clothed with the woeful garment of sighs, the foe of love, friendship and happiness, but the friend of loneliness wet with the daily dew of tears, – that pen must entirely change its style, and tell that in the palaces of these lords dwells all the wealth there is, wealth which glitters indeed, but is borrowed, wrung from the sweat of the poor. Consequently their position is as unstable as the wind, resting on no firm foundation, but rather on pillars of glass, resplendent in the eyes of the world, but collapsing under the stress of even a slight storm.

2. Oppression of the peasantry

(a) Father Jerome Xavier on conditions in Kashmir in 1597⁶⁶

...it is very much uncultivated and even depopulated from the time this King [Akbar] took it and governs it through his captains, who tyrannise over it...and bleed the people by their extortions...And they say that before this King they were sufficiently provided with food...Now everything is wanting for there are no cultivators on account of the violence done them.

(b) Father Jerome Xavier's letter from Agra in 1609⁶⁷

...the poor labourers desert them [the lands] and run away which is the reason why they are poorly peopled.

(c) Father Jerome Xavier on Gujarat in 1615⁶⁸

The lands are much spoiled which at an earlier period were taken by the Mongores: for they destroy everything with their oppressions.

(d) Wives and children of defaulting cultivators sold, Francisco Pelsaert⁶⁹

The land would give a plentiful or even an extraordinary yield, if the peasants were not so cruelly and pitilessly oppressed; for villages which, owing to some small shortage of produce, are unable to pay the full amount of the

revenue-farm, are made prize, so to speak, by their masters or governors, and wives and children sold, on the pretext of a charge of rebellion. Some peasants abscond to escape their tyranny, and take refuge with rajas who are in rebellion, and consequently the fields lie empty and unsown, and grow into wilderness. Such oppression is exceedingly prevalent in this country.

(e) Dutch factor, Wollebrand de Jongh Geleynssen on Gujarat in 1629⁷⁰

...the peasants are more oppressed than formerly [and] frequently abscond.

3. Inability of peasants to pay high revenue demand, Fray Sebastian Manrique⁷¹

[The peasants have] no possessions or assets from which to pay...[and are] beaten unmercifully and maltreated...They are carried off, attached to heavy iron chains, to various markets and fairs[to be sold], with their poor, unhappy wives behind them carrying their small children in their arms, all crying and lamenting their evil plight.

4. Armed resistance by peasants

(a) In present-day Kanpur district in 1632, Peter Mundy⁷²

...labourers with their guns, swords, and bucklers lying by them whilst they ploughed the ground, being att variance with towne $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile out of the way...

(b) In the Mathura region, Niccolao Manucci⁷³

The women stood behind their husbands with spears and arrows. When the husband had shot off his matchlock, his wife handed him the lance, while she reloaded the matchlock.

5. Bijapur, state of coolies, Abbe Carre⁷⁴

I had been astonished, since I left Bicholim [eight miles north of Goa], to find the roads crowded with troops of people, carrying such heavy burdens on their heads that I could not look on them without deep compassion. I asked my servants why these poor folk carried such heavy weights over the difficult mountain roads, which we, even without loads, could scarcely surmount. I was told that these people were of the same cooly caste as the carriers of my palanquin and my baggage; that they had no other occupation but that of carrying heavy burdens; and that they dwelt on the coast near Goa, and gained their living by

taking dried fish, coconuts, arrack, and other comestibles, to sell in Bijapur. They were paid $2\frac{1}{2}$ ecus a load, however great the weight. I marvelled how these poor creatures could earn enough to live on, and stand such heavy fatigue for the twenty-five to thirty days that each trip lasted. I might certainly have been told that it was scarcely enough for their food and upkeep in so long a journey and might well have believed it, had not my daily experience led me to know otherwise. These people did not spend their small wages, but kept them for their families on their return. I had eight of these coolies, six for my palanquin and two for my luggage. I gave each three rupees, which is $1\frac{1}{2}$ ecus, to take me to Bijapur, without being obliged to give them any food. I found that they provided themselves, before starting, with a little rice and dried fish, which cost them hardly anything in their own country. This lasted all the journey, with what they find in the villages, where they are given fruit and milk, and some millet, from which they make flour. This is soaked in cold water and made into flat cakes, which are baked over a fire on iron plates supported by three stones. In certain places they find caste-fellows, who kindly cook them some herbs in oil or butter, which they eat with these pancakes. Their greatest support, however, is tobacco, which they are always smoking, so that they devoured more smoke than anything else. Besides water, they drink toddy, congee [kanji], and arrack. Toddy is a kind of wine, which they extract from palm-trees. It is the colour of milk, has a pleasant taste, rather like white wine, and is very refreshing. Congee is only boiled water with a little rice in it, which is given them on arrival in any village. There is always a house which keeps this drink ready on the fire for passers-by who, in the heat and sweat they are in, would probably die if they drank cold water. Arrack is a spirit made out of toddy, which they distil, as we do brandy. They mix with it a red root called canja [ganja, the hemp plant]; the infusion intoxicates them so much that they become like lunatics and out of their senses, when they drink it to excess, though it gives them strength and vigour, if taken in moderation and only as a refreshment.

6. Peasants flee land on account of oppression in Mughal India, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier⁷⁵

I should say en passant that the peasants have for their sole garment a scrap of cloth to cover those parts which natural modesty requires should be concealed; and that they are reduced to great poverty, because if the Governors become aware that they possess any property they seize it straightway by right or by force. You may see in India whole provinces like deserts from whence the peasants have fled on account of the oppression of the Governors. Under cover of the fact that they are themselves Musalmans, they persecute these poor idolaters to the utmost...

I. FUNERAL RITES

1. Brahmins attend to dying, Fernao Nuniz⁷⁶

When a Brahman is sick, before he dies, they send to call the learned Brahmins who are his priests, so that they should come to pray, and console the sick man; and they talk to him of the affairs of his soul, and what he must do to save it, bidding him spend money in alms. After this ceremony is over they make the Brahman priests shave the sick man's head, and after the shaving they bid them wash it, and after the washing it is their custom to bring into their houses a cow with a calf – there are very few Brahmins, however poor they be, who do not have one to live in their house, – which cow, when they have finished washing the man's head, they take a turban and tie it to its neck and put the end of the turban into the hand of the sick man, and he gives it and the calf in alms for his soul to those priests who perform these ceremonies. On that day he gives alms according to his position, and gives to eat to some Brahmins who are invited and who come there for the purpose. They believe that when these ceremonies are made for the sick man, if he is to live he is soon cured of his infirmity, and if not that he soon dies.

Body prepared for cremation

After the death of the sick man they have the ground washed upon which he lay, and after the washing they take cow-dung and spread it over the ground, and place the body on the top of this dung. They hold that a sick man who dies on a cot, or on anything soever except only on the ground, commits a mortal sin. As soon as the body is laid on the ground they make for it a bier covered with boughs of the fig tree, and before they place the body on the bier they wash it well with pure water, and anoint it with sandal-wood [paste or oil]; and they place by the body branches of sweet basil and cover it with a new cloth, and so place it in the bier.

Bier lifted by four people

Then one of his relatives takes the bier on one side, and they call three other Brahmins whosoever they may be to aid them to lift it; and so they carry it to the place where they are to burn it, accompanied by many Brahmins who go singing in front of the corpse. In front of all goes his son, if he had one, or next younger brother or nearest relative, with fire in the hand for the burning. As soon as they arrive at the place where they have to burn the body, they scatter money according to their ability, and then put the fire to it; and they wait there till the whole body is consumed, and then all go and wash their bodies in a tank and afterwards return each one to his house.

Relation who lights the pyre sleeps nine nights on the ground where man died

The son or brother or relation who put the fire is obliged to sleep on the ground where the man died for nine nights, and after the lapse of nine days from the death come the priests and learned men and they command to shave the head of this man. During these nine days, they feed the poor and they give them the dead man's clothes, and they give the cot with its bed in alm to the priests, with some money in addition; if he is a rich man they give gardens and other things in alms to many Brahmans.

Tenth day ceremonies

When ten days are finished, and the son has been shaved, he goes to the place where they burned his father or his brother, and they perform many ceremonies over the ashes and bones that remain unburned; then they put them in a small vessel and make a pit in the ground and bury them in it, and keep them thus guarded and buried in order (afterwards) to send the bones to be thrown into a sacred river, which is distant from Goa over one thousand leagues [Ganga in Banaras]. There is a very large temple there, the object of many pilgrimages, and they hold that every pilgrim who dies there is saved, and goes to Paradise, and also every dead man whose bones are thrown into that river. In spite of this they in reality take very few people there.

Brahmins fed

The heir or the father or son of the dead man is obliged, from the day of the date, for eleven days to give food to twenty-seven Brahmans, and until twenty-one days to three others; until twelve days again he feeds seven Brahmans, and until twenty-seven days give to eat to the three; on the last day of the month he gives food to three others, and thenceforward, until one year is finished, he gives meals once a month to three Brahmans. They do this in honour of the Trinity for the soul of the deceased. When this year is over he gives no more alms, except that each year, on the day on which the death happened [shraddha ceremony], he feeds six Brahmans – namely, three in honour of the Trinity and three for the persons of his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather; who thus seemingly eat together. Thus he obtains favour with God, and for these expenses they beg alms of the Brahmans if they are poor. These give him all help for it. Before they dine they wash the feet of all six, and during the meal some ceremonies are performed by Brahman priests who come there for that purpose.

2. Funeral ceremonies common among all Hindus, Niccolao Manucci⁷⁷

Now I come to funeral ceremonies for the dead; and as all have the same

practice – namely, that the wife removes her *tali* on the death of her husband – I shall say little, and that only briefly, about the ceremonies with which they cremate a dead body and carry out the details connected therewith. It is after these are completed that the woman must cut off her *tali*, and therein consists her act of widowhood; and it is for this reason that in their language the name given to a widow means “the woman who has cut off the *tali*”.

All Hindus burn their dead, except the infamous sect of the Lingam. These bury the bodies, not in their temples – for that, in this country, would be the most abominable sacrilege that could be committed – but in a field distant from their dwellings. As to all other castes, they also burn them in a field distant from the town or village, which each locality has set apart expressly for this purpose.

The mode of burning the body is as follows: First of all, no Brahman, however rich he may be, is allowed to die within his house, for in their belief all within it would be thereby defiled. This is the reason that before he expires they carry him into a courtyard, and there place him under a sort of gallery, which every house has for the purpose. Should it happen that the Brahman dies a sudden death within the house, they carry the body at once, with all imaginable haste, and place it under the gallery alluded to. Then, breaking all the earthen vessels in the house, all the inmates quit it, and do not reenter it until it has been well rubbed over with cowdung, and until, as one may say, the interdict has been removed by a number of ceremonies used by them for this purpose.

When a Brahman dies, all his female relations and female friends stand in a circle, and with their stomachs bared beat themselves severely with their two hands, weeping for the dead; and, moving round, they sing a song learnt for the purpose. It is extremely well suited to the conditions of the time and place in which they find themselves. After they have been round three times in this fashion, they bathe the body, dress it in new clothes, put some ground sandal-wood on the forehead, and then deposit it in a sort of coffin which is quite open. It may be interjected here that this coffin is made just as our hand-barrows for manure, constructed like them from pieces of wood tied together with straw. Then four Brahmins carry the body to the burning-ground. They are preceded by a sort of shrine, highly ornamented and covered with flowers. Having arrived at the cemetery, they perform for him all the usual ceremonial, and burn him with all the solemnities that I have remarked upon in regard to their marriages.

After the body has been burnt, the Brahmins bathe their bodies, and wash the pieces of cloth which they used for clothing themselves. All dripping as they are, they put these on again and return home. Thence they proceed to the house of the deceased, where a feast is given. On that day it is served

under some palm-trees, which they say represent the deceased. There for the space of ten days all the friends and relations weep for the deceased; each of the nearest relations gives a sort of petticoat they call a *panes* (*punjam*) to the deceased's widow, and his brothers subscribe and give her a half-moon of silver.

On the tenth day, after loud lamentation, the deceased's widow flings her arms round the neck of another widow, weeping and displaying all imaginable signs of grief. Meanwhile, all the other widows present cut off the piece of gold attached to her neck, which they call a *tali*. It should be noted that no married women may take part in this act, which constitutes the woman a widow.

Every year upon the anniversary of her husband's death, a young widow performs a holocaust, feeds four or five Brahmans, and if she is rich she also gives them clothes. She does the same every month at the new moon, but with less expense and formality. Whatever is essential in funerals of the Brahman caste is also common to the other castes. This is the reason that I shall not say anything special about them... □

Chapter 3

Festivals and Fairs

- A. Festivals
- B. Fairs
- C. Games

A. FESTIVALS

1. Dussehra at Vijayanagar, Domingo Paes¹

You should know that among these heathen there are days when they celebrate their feasts as with us; and they have their days of fasting, when all day they eat nothing, and eat only at midnight. When the time of the principal festival arrives the king comes from the new city to this city of Bisnaga, since it is the capital of the kingdom, and it is the custom there to make their feasts and to assemble. For these feasts are summoned all the dancing-women of the kingdom, in order that they should be present; and also the captains and kings and great lords with all their retinues – except only those whom the king may have sent to make war, or those who are in other parts, or at the far end of the kingdom on the side where (an attack) is feared... These feasts begin on the 12th of September and they last nine days, and take place at the king's palace.

The palace is on this fashion: it has a gate opening on to the open space of which I have spoken, and over this gate is a tower of some height, made like the others with its verandahs; outside these gates begins the wall which I said encircled the palace. At the gate are many doorkeepers with leather scourges [whips] in their hands, and sticks, and they let no one enter but the captains and chief people, and those about whom they receive orders from the Chief of the Guard. Passing this gate you have an [vast] open space, and then you have another gate like the first, also with its doorkeepers and guards; and as soon as you enter inside this you have a large open space, and on one side and the other are low verandahs where are seated the captains and chief people

in order to witness the feasts and on the left side of the north of this open space is a great one storeyed building (*terrea*); all the rest are like it. This building stands on pillars shaped like elephants and with other figures, and all open in front, and they go up to it by staircases of stone; around it, underneath, is a terrace (*corredor*) paved with very good flagstones, where stand some of the people looking at the feast. This house is called the House of Victory, as it was made when the king came back from the war against Orya [Orissa] ... On the right side of the open space were some narrow scaffoldings, made of wood and so lofty that they could be seen over the top of the wall; they were covered at the top with crimson and green velvet and other handsome cloths, and adorned from top to bottom. Let no one fancy that these cloths were of wool, because there are none such in the country, but they are of very fine cotton. These scaffoldings are not always kept at the place, but they are specially made for these feasts; there are eleven of them. Against the gates there were two circles in which were the dancing-women richly arrayed with many jewels of gold and diamonds and many pearls. Opposite the gate which is on the east side of the front of the open space, and in the middle of it, there are two buildings of the same sort as the House of Victory of which I have spoken; these buildings are served by a kind of staircase of stone beautifully wrought – one is in the middle and the other at the end. This building was all hung which rich cloths, both the walls and the ceiling, as well as the supports, and the cloths of the walls were adorned with figures in the manner of embroidery; these buildings have two platforms one above the other, beautifully sculptured, with their sides well made and worked, to which platforms the sons of the king's favourites come for the feasts, and sometimes his eunuchs. On the upper platform, close to the king, was Christovao de Figueiredo, with all of us who came with him, for the king commanded that he should be put in such a place as best to see the feasts and magnificence. That I may not forget to tell of the streets that are in the palace I here mention them. You must know that inside the palace that I have spoken of is the dwelling of the king and of his wives and of the other women who serve them, as I have already said, who are twelve thousand in number; and they have an entrance to these rows of houses so that they can go inside. Between this palace and the House of Victory is a gate which serves as passage to it. Inside there are thirty-four streets.

Returning to the feasts, you must know that in this House of Victory the king has a room (*casa*) made of cloth, with its door closed, where the idol has a shrine: and in the other in the middle (of the building), is placed a dais opposite the stair-case in the middle; on which dais stands a throne of state made thus – it is four-sided, and flat, with a round top, and a hollow in the middle for the seat. As regards the woodwork of it, you must know that it is all covered with silk cloths (? *soajes*) [probably silk cushions], and has lions

all of gold, and in the spaces between the cloths (*soajes*) with many rubies and seed-pearls, and pearls underneath; and round the sides it is all full of golden images of personages, and upon these is much work in gold, with many precious stones. In this chair is placed an idol, also of gold, embowered in roses and flowers. On one side of this chair, on the dais below, stands a head-dress; this also is made in the same manner; it is upright and as high as a span, the top is rounded, it is all full of pearls and rubies and all other precious stones, and on the top of it is a pearl as large as a nut, which is not quite round. On the other side is an anklet [virakadaga or virapende; an anklet as a sign of heroism worn by the kings and warriors] for the foot made in the same fashion; it is another state jewel, and is full of large pearls and of many rubies, emeralds, and diamonds, and other stones of value; it will be of the thickness of a man's arm. In front of all this, at the edge of the dais resting on a support were some cushions where the king was seated during all these feasts. The feasts commence thus:

You must know that when it is morning the king comes to this House of Victory, and betakes himself to that room where the idol is with its Brahmans, and he performs his prayers and ceremonies. Outside the house are some of his favourites, and on the square are many dancing-girls dancing. In their verandahs round the square are many captains and chief people who come there in order to see; and on the ground, near the platform of the house, are eleven horses with handsome and well-arranged trappings, and behind them are four beautiful elephants with many adornments. After the king has entered inside he comes out, and with him a Brahman who takes in his hand a basket full of white roses and approaches the king on the platform and the king taking three handfuls of these roses, throws them to the horses and after he has thrown them he takes a basket of perfumes and acts towards them as though he would cense [smell them, this gesture is a part of the ritual in South India] them; and when he has finished doing this he reaches towards the elephants and does the same to them. And when the king has finished this, the Brahman takes the basket and descends to the platform, and from thence puts those roses and other flowers on the heads of all the horses, and this done, returns to the king. Then the king goes again to where the idol is, and as soon as he is inside they lift the curtains of the room, which are made like the purdahs of a tent, (*Paredes, probably 'purdahs' curtains or screens.*) and the king seats himself there where these are, and they lift them all. Thence he witnesses the slaughter of twenty-four buffaloes and a hundred and fifty sheep, with which a sacrifice is made to that idol; you must know that they cut off the heads of these buffaloes and sheep at one blow with certain large sickles which are wielded by a man who has charge of this slaughter; they are so sure of hand that no blow misses. When they have finished the slaughter of these cattle the king goes out and

goes to the other large buildings, on the platforms of which is a crowd of Brahmans, and as soon as the king ascends to where they stand they throw to the king ten or twelve roses – those (that is) who are nearest to him. Then he passes all along the top of the buildings and as soon as he is at the end he takes the cap from his head, and after placing it on the ground turns back (to the place) where the idol is; here he lies extended on the ground [the Sirasastanganamaskara, prostrating with eight limbs of the body to God]. When he has arisen he betakes himself to the interior of the building and enters a garden (*or walled enclosure-quyntal*) here they say that a little fire has been made, and he throws into the fire a powder made up of many things, namely rubies and pearls and all other kinds of precious stones and aloes and other sweet-scented things. This done, he returns to the pagoda and goes inside and stays a little, at which time enter by the other door some of his favourites who are in the building, and they make their salaam. Then he goes back to the place whence he threw the flowers to the horses, and as soon as he is here all the captains and chief people come and make their salaam to him, and some, if they so desire, present some gifts to him; then as they came so they retire, and each one betakes himself to his own dwelling. And the king withdraws to the interior of his palace by that gate which I have already mentioned – that which stands between the two buildings that are in the area (*terreyro*) the courtesans [unmarried girls] and bayaderes [courtesans in the service of the king] remain dancing in front of the temple and idol for a long time. This is what is done during the morning of each day of these nine days, with the ceremonies I have mentioned, and each day more splendid (than the last).

Wrestling, dancing,

Now, returning to the feasts. At three O'clock in the afternoon every one comes to the palace. They do not admit every one at once (they allowed us to go into the open part that is between the gates), but there go inside only the wrestlers and dancing women, and the elephants, which go with their trappings and decorations, those that sit on them being armed with shields and javelins, and wearing quilted tunics. As soon as these are inside they range themselves round the arena, each one in his place, and the wrestlers go close to the staircase which is in the middle of that building, where has been prepared a large space of ground for the dancing-women to wrestle. Many other people are then at the entrance-gate opposite to the building, namely Brahmans, and the sons of the king's favourites, and their relations; all these are noble youths who serve before the king. The officers of the household go about keeping order amongst all the people, and keep each one in his own place. The different pavilions are separated by doors, so that no one may enter unless he is invited.

Salvatinica (*Saluva Timma, the minister*) who is the principal person that

enters the building, supervises the whole, for he brought up the king and made him king, and so the king looks on him like a father [and addresses him 'Appaji']. Whenever the king calls to him he addresses him as 'Lord (*senhor*) Salvatinica,' and all the captains and nobles of the realm make salaam to him. This Salvatinica stands inside the arena where the festivals go on, near one of the doors, and from there gives the word for the admission of all the things necessary for the festival.

After all this is done and arranged, the king goes forth and seats himself on the dais I have mentioned, where is the throne and the other things, and all those that are inside make their salaam to him. As soon as they have done this the wrestlers seat themselves on the ground, for these are allowed to remain seated, but no other, howsoever great a lord he be, except the king so commands, and these also eat betel though none else may eat it in his presence except the dancing-women, who may always eat it before him. As soon as the king is seated in his place he bids to sit with him three or four men who belong to his race, and who are themselves kings and the fathers of his wives; the principal of these is the king of Syrimgapatao [Srirangapattana] and of all the territory bordering on Malabar, and this king is called Cumarvirya (*Kumara Viraya*), and he seats himself as far in front as the king on the other side of the dais, the rest are behind.

There the king sits, dressed in white clothes all covered with embroidery [probably, a kind of 'Kamataki Kasuti or Kasida' work] of golden roses and wearing his jewels – he wears a quantity of these white garments, and I always saw him so dressed – and around him stand his pages with his betel, and his sword, and the other things which are his insignia of state. Many Brahmins stand round the throne on which rests the idol, fanning it with horsetail plumes ['cowri' or fly-whisk specially made of the yaktail], coloured the handles of which are all overlaid with gold; these plumes are tokens of the highest dignity; they also fan the king with them.

But returning to the feasts, as soon as the king is seated, the captains who waited without make their entrance, each one by himself, attended by his chief people, and so on, all in order; they approach and make their salaams to the king, and then take their places in the pavilions (*verandas*) which I have previously described. As soon as these nobles have finished entering, the captains of the troops approach with shields and spears, and afterwards the captains of the archers; these officers are all stationed on the ground around the arena in front of the elephants, and they constitute the king's guard, for into such a place no man may enter bearing arms, nor near to where the king is. As soon as these soldiers have all taken their places the women begin to dance, while some of them place themselves in the circular galleries that I have said were (erected) at their gate of entrance. We can fitly describe to you

the great riches these women carry on their persons – collars [a kind of necklace or a band of cloth richly adorned with pearls and precious stones worn around the neck] of gold with so many diamonds and rubies and pearls, bracelets also on their arms and on their upper arms, girdles below, and of necessity anklets on the feet. The marvel should be otherwise, namely that women of such a profession should obtain such wealth; but there are women of such a profession among them who have lands that have been given to them, and litters, and so many maid-servants that one cannot number all their things. There is a woman in this city who is said to have a hundred thousand *pardaos* and I believe this from what I have seen of them.

Then the wrestlers begin their play. Their wrestling does not seem like ours, but there are blows (given), so severe as to break teeth, and put out eyes, and disfigure faces, so much so that here and there men are carried off speechless by their friends; they give one another fine falls too. They have their captains and judges, who are there to put each one on an equal footing in the field, and also to adjust the honours to him who wins.

Fireworks

In all this portion of the day nothing more is done than this wrestling and the dancing of the women, but as soon as ever the sun is down many torches are lit and some great flambeaux made of cloth; and these are placed about the arena in such a way that the whole is as light as day, and even along the top of the walls, for on all the battlements, are lighted lamps, and the place where the king sits is all full of torches. As soon as these are lit up there are introduced many very graceful plays and contrivances, but these do not stop long; they only approach where the king is and then go out. Then there enter others in other fashion, with battles of people on horseback; these horses are like the hobby-horse made in Portugal for the feast of the Corpo de Deus; others come with casting-nets, fishing and capturing the men that are in the arena. When these amusements are ended, they begin to throw up many rockets and many different sorts of fires, also castles that burn and fling out from themselves many bombs (*tiros*) and rockets.

Chariot and horse show

When these fireworks are finished, there enter many triumphant cars (chariots) which belong to the captains, some of them sent by those captains who are waging war in foreign parts; and they enter thus. The first belongs to Salvatinica, and they come in one after the other. Some of the cars appear covered with many rich cloths, having on them many devices of dancing-girls and other human figures; there are other cars having tiers one on top of another, and others all of one kind; and so in their order they pass to where the king is.

When the cars (chariots) have gone out they are immediately followed by many horses covered with trapping an cloths of very fine stuff of the king's colours, and with many roses and flowers on their heads an necks, and with their bridles all gilded; and in front of these horses goes a horse with two state-umbrellas of the king, and with grander decorations than the others, and one of the lesser equerries leads it by the bridle. In front of this horse goes another caracoling and pracing, as do all horses here, being trained in that art. You must know that this horse that is conducted with all the state is a horse that the king keeps, on which they are sworn and received as kings, and on it must be sworn all those that shall come after them; and in case such a horse dies they put another in its place. If any king does not wish to be sworn on horseback, they swear him on an elephant, which they keep and treat with equal dignity.

These horses, then going in the way I have stated, pass twice round the arena and place themselves in the middle of the arena in five or six lines, one before the other, and the king's horse in front of them, all facing the king; they stand in such a way that between them and the men there is an open space all round. As soon as they are arranged in this way and are all quiet there goes out from the inside of the palace a Brahman, the highest in rank of those about the king, and two others with him, and this chief Brahman, carries in his hands a bowl with coconut and some rice and flowers, while others carry a pot of water; and they pass round by the back of the horses, which all stand facing the king; and after performing his ceremonies there, he returns to the palace.

Women richly clad

After this is over you will see issuing from inside twenty-five or thirty female doorkeepers, with canes in their hands and whips on their shoulders; and then close to these come many eunuchs, and after these eunuchs come many women playing many trumpets and drums and pipes (but not like ours) and viols and many other kinds of music, and behind these women will come some twenty women-porters, with canes in their hands all covered with silver, and close to them come women clothed in the following manner. They have very rich and fine silk clothes; on the head they wear high caps which they call *collaes* [kulaya in Kannada, made of thick cloth and covered with fine embroidery and set with precious stones and pearls] and on these caps they wear flowers made of large pearls; collars on the neck with jewels of gold very richly set with many emeralds and diamonds and rubies and pearls; and besides this many strings of pearls and others for shoulder-belts; on the lower part of the arms many bracelets, with half of the upper arm all bare, having armlets in the same way all of precious stones; on the waist many girdles of gold and of precious stones, which girdles hang in order one below the other,

almost as far down as half the thigh; besides these belts they have other jewels, and many strings of pearls [paijana or pende, an anklet of round beads in silver] round the ankles, for they wear very rich anklets even of greater value than the rest. They carry in their hands vessels of gold each as large as a small cask of water; inside these are some loops made of pearls fastened with wax, and inside all this a lighted lamp. They come in regular order one before the other, in all perhaps sixty women fair and young, from sixteen to twenty years of age. Who is he that could tell of the costliness and the value of what each of these women carries on her person? So great is the weight of the bracelets and gold and jewels carried by them that many of them cannot support them, and women accompany them assisting them by supporting their arms. In this manner and in this array they proceed three times round the horses, and at the end retire into the palace. These women are maids of honour to the queens, and so are the others that go with them on each day of these nine days of the feast one of the queens sends, each on her own day, her ladies with the others. The officials, in honour of the feast, have the days divided between them in accordance with their custom as already arranged by the king; and these women come every day most richly attired, taking pleasure in showing themselves in such things, and in making a display each one of what she possesses.

When these women retire the horses also go, and then come the elephants, and after making their salaam they too retire. As soon as they are gone the king retires by a small door which is at the end of the building. Then the Brahmans go and take an idol, and carry it to the House of Victory, where is the room of cloth that I have spoken of, and the king at once comes from within, and goes to where the idol is, and offers his prayers and performs his ceremonies. Then, they bring there more buffaloes and sheep, and kill them in the same way as before, and then come the professional women to dance. As soon as the slaughter of the buffaloes and sheep is over the king retires, and goes to his supper; for he fasts all these nine days, and (each day) they eat nothing until all is finished, and their hour for food is midnight. The bayaderes remain dancing before the idol a long time after all this is done. In this way are celebrated these festivals of nine days; on the last day there are slaughtered two hundred and fifty buffaloes and four thousand five hundred sheep.

Armed forces parade

When these days of festival are past, the king holds a review of all his forces, and the review is thus arranged. The king commands to pitch his tent of Mecca velvet a full league from the city, at a place already fixed for that purpose; and in this tent they place the idol in honour of which all these festivals are celebrated.

From this tent to the king's palace the captains range themselves with

their troops and array, each one in his place according to his rank in the king's household. Thus the soldiers stand in line; but it does not appear to you to be only one line but in some places two or three, one behind the other. Where there was a lake it was surrounded with troops, and where the road was narrow they were drawn up on the plain; and so on the slope of the hills and eminences, in such a way that you could see neither plain nor hill that was not entirely covered with troops. Those on foot stood in front of those on horses, and the elephants behind the horses; in this array was each captain with his troops. The captains who had their stations inside the city, since the soldiers could not be drawn up on the flat roofs of the houses, put up scaffoldings across the mouths of the streets to hold the troops, in such a way that all were full, both outside and in.

Now I should like to describe to you how they were armed, and their decorations. The cavalry were mounted on horses fully caparisoned, and on their foreheads plates, some of silver but most of them gilded, with fringes of twisted silk of all colours, and reins of the same [The reins were not of leather, but of silk twisted into ropes]; others had trapping of Mecca velvet, which is velvet of many colours with fringes and ornaments; others had them of other silks, such as satins and damask, and others of brocade from China and Persia. Some of the men with the gilded plates had them set with many large precious stones, and on the borders lace-work of small stones. Some of these horses had on their foreheads heads of serpents and of other large animals of various kinds, made in such a strange manner that they were a sight to see for the perfection of their make. The horsemen were dressed in quilted tunics [as can be seen on the sculptures of warriors mounted on horses and legendary animals carved on the pillars in the SE mandapa of the Vithala temple at Hampi], also of brocade and velvet and every kind of silk. These tunics are made of layers of very strong raw leather, and furnished with other iron (plates) that make them strong; some have these plates gilded both inside and out, and some are made of silver. Their headpieces are in the manner of helmets with borders covering the neck, and each has its piece to protect the face; they are of the same fashion as the tunics. They wear on the neck gorgets (*cofos*) all gilded, others made of silk with plates of gold and silver, others of steel as bright as a mirror. At the waists they have swords and small battle-axes, and in their hands javelins with the shafts covered with gold and silver. All have their umbrellas of state made of embroidered velvet and damask, with many coloured silks on the horses. They wave many (standards with) white and coloured tails and hold them in much esteem – which tails are horses' tails. The elephants in the same way are covered with caparison of velvet and gold with fringes, and rich cloths of many colours, and with bells so that the earth resounds; and on their heads are painted faces of giants and other kinds of great beasts. On the back

of each one of them are three or four men, dressed in their quilted tunic and armed with shields and javelins, and they are arrayed as if for a foray.

Then, turning to the troops on foot, there are so many that they surround all the valleys and hills in a way with which nothing in the world can compare. You will see amongst them dresses of such rich cloths that I do not know where they came from, nor could any one tell how many colours they have; shield-men with their shields, with many flowers of gold and silver on them, others with figures of tigers and other great beasts, others all covered with silver leaf work beautifully wrought, others with painted colours, others black and (*so polished that*) you can see into them as into a mirror, and their swords so richly ornamented that they could not possibly be more so. Of the archers, I must tell you that they have bows plated with gold and silver, and others have them polished, and their arrows very neat, and so feathered that they could not be better; daggers at their waists and battle-axes, with the shafts and ends of gold and silver; then you see musqueteers with their musquets and blunderbusses and their thick tunics, all in their order with their [rank] in all their bravery; it was indeed a thing to see. Then the Moors – one must not forget them – for they were there also in the review with their shields, javelins and Turkish bows, with many bombs and spears and fire-missiles; and I was much astonished to find amongst them men who knew so well how to work these weapons.

Astounding wealth

The king leaves his palace riding on the horse of which I have already told you, clothed in the many rich white cloths I have mentioned, with two umbrellas of state all gilded and covered with crimson velvet, and with the jewels and adornments which they keep for the purpose of wearing at such times: he who ever wears such jewels can understand the sort of things so great a lord would wear. Then to see the grandeur of the nobles and men of rank, I cannot possibly describe it all, nor should I be believed if I tried to do so; then to see the horses and the armour that they wear, you would see them so covered with metal plates that I have no words to express what I saw, and some hid from me the sight of others; and to try and tell of all I saw is hopeless, for I went along with my head so often turned from one side to the other that I was almost falling backwards off my horse with my senses lost. The cost of it all is not so much to be wondered at as there is so much money in the land, and the chiefs are so wealthy.

There went in front of the king many elephants with their coverings and ornaments, as I have said; the king had before him some twenty horses fully caparisoned and saddled, with embroideries of gold and precious stones, that showed off well the grandeur and state of their lord. Close to the king went a cage [a kind of small mandapa used for carrying gods in procession] such as is seen at Lisbon on the day of the Corpo de Dios festival, and it was gilded and

very large; it seemed to me to be made of copper or silver; it was carried by sixteen men, eight on each side, besides others who took their turns, and in it is carried the idol of which I have already spoken. Thus accompanied the king passed along gazing at his soldiers, who gave great shouts and cries and struck their shields; the horses neighed, the elephants screamed, so that it seemed as if the city would be overturned, the hills and valleys and all the ground trembled with the discharges of arms and musquets; and to see the bombs and fire-missiles over the plains, this was indeed wonderful. Truly it seemed as if the whole world collected there.

In this way it went on till the king arrived at the place where the tent was that I have already mentioned, and he entered this and performed his usual ceremonies and prayers. You must not think that when the king passed the troops moved from their positions, on the contrary they stood motionless in their places till the king returned. As soon as the king had finished his ceremonies he again took horse and returned to the city in the same way as he had come, the troops never wearying of their shouting; as soon as he passed by them they began to march. Then to see those who were on the hills and slopes, and the descent of them with their shouts and beating of shields and shaking of arrows and bows that were without count. Truly, I was so carried out with myself that it seemed as if what I saw was a vision, and that I was in a dream. Then the troops began to march to their tents and pavilions in the plains which were in great number; and all the captains accompanied the king as far as the palace, and thence departed to rest themselves from their labour.

2. **Navaratra festivities at Vijayanagar, nine castles erected, Fernao Nuniz²**

This takes place in the month of September when for nine days they make great feasts. Some say that they do this in honour of the nine months during which Our Lady bore her Son in the womb; others say that it is only done because at this time the captains come to pay their rents to the King. Which feasts are conducted in the following manner.

The first day they put nine castles in a piece of ground which is in front of the palace, which castles are made by the nine principal captains in the kingdom. They are very lofty and are hung with rich cloths, and in them are many dancing girls and also many kinds of contrivances. Besides these nine every captain is obliged to make each one his castle, and they come to show these to the King. Each one has his separate device, and they all come like this during the nine days of the feast. The officers of the city are bound to come with their devices each day at night, just as in our festivals, and in these nine days they slaughter animals and make sacrifice. The first day they kill nine male buffaloes and nine sheep and nine goats, and thenceforward they

kill each day more, always doubling the number, and when they have finished slaying these beasts, there come nine horses and nine elephants of the King, and these come before the King covered with flowers – roses – and with rich trappings. Before them goes the chief Master of the Horse with many attendants, and they make salaam to the King. And when these have finished making their salaam there come from within priests, and they bring rice and other cooked edibles, and water, and fire [flames of camphor and alike flames during rituals], and many kinds of scents, and they offer prayers and throw the water over the horses and elephants, just (as our priests do with) holy water, and they put chaplets of roses on them. This is done in the presence of the King, who remains seated on a throne of gold and precious stones; he never sits on this except only this once in the year. And this King that now reigns does not sit on it, for they say that whoever sits on it must be a very truthful man, one who speaks the whole truth, and this king never does so. Whilst this is going on there pass by the King fully a thousand women, dancing and posturing before him. After all the devices that have been prepared have been witnessed all the horses of the King pass by, covered with their silken trappings, and with much adornment of gold and precious stones on their heads, and then all the elephants and yokes of oxen in the middle of the arena in front of the palace. After these have been seen there come thirty-six of the most beautiful of the King's wives covered with gold and pearls, and much work of seed-pearls, and in the hands of each a vessel of gold with a lamp of oil burning in it; and with these women come all the female servants and the other wives of the King, with canes in their hands tipped with gold and with torches burning; and these then retire inside with the King. These women are so richly bedecked with gold and precious stones that they are hardly able to move.

3. Deepavali celebrations at Vijayanagar, Domingo Paes³

You must know that when these feasts of which I have spoken are ended, at the beginning of the month of October, when eleven of its days are past, they make great feasts, during which everyone puts on new, and rich, and handsome cloths, each one according to his liking, and all the captains give their men handsome cloths of many colours, each one having his own colour and device. On the same day they give great gifts of money to the king, it is even said that they give on that day to the king in money a million and five hundred thousands gold *pardaos*, and each *pardoa* is worth three hundred and sixty *reis* and from this you will be able to know how many *reis* there will be. I wish you to know that on this day begins their year, it is their New Year's day, and for this they make the feast and give the gifts; and it is not to be wondered at, for we also do the same on New year's Day. They begin the year in this month with the new moon, and they count the months always from moon to moon.

4. Holi at Surat, Pietro Della Valle⁴

March the fifteenth was the first day of the Feast of the *Indian-Gentiles*, which they celebrate very solemnly at the entrance of the Spring, with dancings through the street, and casting orange water and red colours in jest one upon another, with other festivities of Songs and Mummeries, as I have formerly seen the same in *Spahan*, where also reside constantly a great number of *Banians* and *Indian Gentiles*. Yet the solemnity and concourse of people was greater than in *Persia*, as being in their own Country and a City inhabited in a great part by *Gentiles* and wealthier persons.

5. Holi in Kabul, Jean de Thevenot⁵

Caboulistan is full of small Towns, Burroughs and Villages; most of the Inhabitants are heathen: and therefore there are a great many Pagods there. They reckon their months by Moons, and with great Devotion celebrate their Feast, called *Houly*, which lasts two days. At that time their Temples are filled with People, who came to Pray and make their Oblations there; the rest of the Celebration consists in Dancing by companies in the Streets, to the sound of Trumpets. At this Feast, they are cloathed in a dark Red, and many go to visit their Friends in Masquarade.

B. FAIRS

1. At Athni [Belgaum District], Abbe Carre⁶

Tuesday, 10 January. I stopped at Etny [Athni], a large town in the middle of a dry plain, where water is obtained only from a little stream and some wells. There was a fair in progress, which had attracted all the traders from surrounding villages and towns with rich merchandise. I found Anobat [Anoba], the Hindu broker of our Company at Raybag, who had come to buy and sell goods. Without his help I should have had great trouble in finding shelter, the town being so full of people that it was difficult to pass through the streets and the bazars. There was no lack of the ordinary attractions of such gatherings. Every free corner was full of fakirs, conjurors, mountebanks, sorcerers, magicians, and the like – each surrounded by a circle of people. They were crowding one another so much that those at the back, not being able to see anything, snatched the turbans off the heads of the spectators in front and threw them far behind: this obliged their owners to run after them, whereupon the vacant front places were immediately filled by those at the back. They could then comfortably watch the dangerous jumps, grotesque postures, miracles, cunning, and skill of these people, who never failed to bring some money into their boxes. This they demanded before showing to the crowd

some special trick, 'the like of which had never been seen before.'

I did not fail to visit all these entertainments, but as soon as it was known that there was a Frank in the town, they all ran to look at me, and insisted on showing me their rarest and most clever tricks. Some exhibited terrible and astonishing magic turns, at which they are very skilful in this country. Others were raised in the air on two pikes with their stomach at the end of a cross beam. From this height they threw themselves on to a bed of swords, daggers, knives, and similar weapons, with the points and edges upward without hurting themselves. Others twisted their bodies into so many postures, that it seemed as if their bones were made of wax. Others showed me certain stones of every shape and colour, which they assured me, with much talk, were efficacious against poison, snake-bites, illness, and pains, and were in short a sovereign remedy for all kinds of bodily infirmities [medicinal stones like the bezoar stone, the Goa stone and the snake stone were common antidotes]. Then there arrived troops of dancing-girls, who are the chief attraction of such assemblies. They often make more by their dancing than the best merchants in the fair do by trade. I was obliged to let them show me (as all the others had done) what they could do, and that they were not less clever and well trained in their art. It was most amusing to see these entertainers, as soon as I dismissed them, run to every side of the fair, to give notice to other new troops that I had not yet seen.

C. ENTERTAINMENT AND GAMES

1. Love music, Edward Terry⁷

The people in generall live about our ages; but they have more old men. They delight much in musicke, and have many stringed and wind instruments, which never seemed in my eare to bee any thing but discord. They write many wittie poems, and compose stories or annals of their owne countrey; and professe themselves to have good skill in astrologie. And in men of that profession the King puts so much confidence that hee will not undertake a journey, nor yet doe any thing of the least consequence, unlesse his wizards tell him tis a good and prosperous hour.

2. Play chess, Edward Terry⁸

In their houses they play much that most ingenious game we call chesse, or else at tables. They have cardes, but quite different from ours.

3. Extraordinary feats of agility at Nander [Daulatabad], Jean de Thevenot⁹

Five Leagues from the Town of *Nander*, near a Village called *Patoda*,

we had the Diversion of seeing Feats of Agility of Body: There was a great concourse of People, and we had a place given us, on an Eminence, under the shade of a great Tree, from whence we might easily see all the Plays. The Tumblers did all that the Rope-dancers of *Europe* do, and much more: These People are as supple as an Eel, they'll turn their whole body into a Bowl, and then others rowl [roll] them with the hand. The finest tricks were performed by a Girl of thirteen or fourteen years of Age, who Played for the space of two hours and more. This amongst other Feats of Agility which she did, appeared to me extreamly difficult: She sat down upon the Ground, holding cross-ways in her Mouth a long cutting Sword; with the right Hand she took hold of her left Foot, brought it up to her Breast, then to her left side, and without letting go that Foot, she put her Head underneath her right Arm, and at the same time, brought her Foot down along the small of her Back: Then she made it pass under her sitting, and over the right Leg four or five times without resting, being always in danger of cutting her Arm or Leg with the edge of the Sword: And she did the same thing with the left Hand and right Foot.

Whilst she was shewing of that trick, they dug a hole in the Ground two foot deep, which they filled with Water. So soon as the Girl had rested a little, they threw into the hole a little Hook made like a Clasp, for her to fetch out with her Nose, without touching it with her Hands. She put her two Feet on the sides of the Pit and turned her self backwards, upon her two Hands, which she placed on the sides of the hole where her Feet had stood. Then she dived headlong into the Water, to search after the Hook with her Nose: The first time she missed it, but the pit being filled full of Water again, she plunged backwards into it a second time, and upholding her self only with the left hand, she gave a sign with the right hand, that she had found what she sought for, and she raised her self again with the Clasp at her Nose.

Then a Man took this Girl, and setting her upon his Head, ran at full speed through the place, she in the mean time not tottering in the least: Setting her down, he took a large Earthen pot, like to those round Pitchers that the Indian Maids make use to draw Water in; and put it upon his Head with the mouth upwards. The Girl got on the top of it, and he carried her about the place with the same security, as he had done without the Pot; Which he did twice more, having put the Pot with the mouth downwards once, and then with the mouth side-ways. The same trick he shewed in a Bason wherein he turned the Pot three different ways: Then he took the Bason and turned its bottom up upon his Head, with the Pitcher over it. The Girl shewed the same tricks upon it. And at length, having put into the Bason upon his Head, a little wooden Truncheon a foot high, and as big as ones Arm, he caused the Girl to be set upright upon that Stake, and carried her about as before; sometimes she only stood upon one Foot, taking the other in her Hand; and sometimes she

hurled down upon her Heels, nay and sat down, though the carrier in the mean time, went on as formerly. Then the Man took the Bason from under the Stake, and put it on the top of it, where the Girl likewise appeared: Then changeing the Play, he put into the Bason four Pins, or little Stakes of Wood, four Inches high, set square-ways with a Board upon each of them, two Fingers breadth, and upon these Boards four other Pins or little Stakes, with as many Boards more, making in all two Stories over the Bason, supported with the great Stake or Pillar: And that Girl getting upon the upper Story, he ran with her through the place with the same swiftness as at other times, she not appearing in the least, afraid of falling, though the Wind was high. These People shew'd a hundred other tricks of Agility, which I shall not describe, that I may not be tedious; only I must say, that the finest I saw Acted were performed by Girls. We gave them at parting three *Roupies*, for which they gave us a thousand Blessings: We sent for them at Night to our Camp where they diverted us again, and gained two *Roupies* more.

4. All kinds of entertainers, Friar Domingo Navarrete [only Spanish account of seventeenth century India]¹⁰

In every Town we found Women that play'd on Musick and danced. There are certain Women there, who alone can follow this Trade, for which they pay a duty to the King. When any Guests of note come, they presently repair to their House, make their Obeisance, and immediately some begin to dance, and others to play. They were well dressed, and had Gold and Silver enough about them, spent two or three hours in this Exercise, were well paid, and went their ways. I was seldom present at these Entertainments but indeed they were worth seeing and hearing.



Chapter 4

Economic Life

- A. Textiles
- B. Some famous arts and crafts of India
- C. Indigo, saltpetre and gum lac
- D. Some drugs prepared in India
- E. Diamond industry
- F. Towns and Bazaars
- G. Ports and Trade

A. TEXTILES

1. Bales of silk brought from Murshidabad to Gujarat and woven into fabrics, gold and silk carpets, satins, patolas, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier¹

Kasimbazar [Murshidabad District, Bengal], a village in the Kingdom of Bengal, can furnish about 22,000 bales of silk annually, each bale weighing 100 livres. The 22,000 bales weigh 2,200,000 livres at 16 onces to the livre. The Dutch generally took, either for Japan or for Holland, 6,000 to 7,000 bales of it, and they would have liked to get more, but the merchants of Tartary and of the whole Mogul Empire opposed their doing so, for these merchants took as much as the Dutch, and the balance remained with the people of the country for the manufacture of their own stuffs. All these silks are brought to the Kingdom of Gujarat and the greater part come to Ahmadabad and Surat, where they are woven into fabrics.

Firstly, carpets of silk and gold, others of silk, gold, and silver, and others altogether of silk, are made in Surat. As for the woollen carpets, they are made at Fatehpur [Fatehpur Sikri], 12 coss from Agra.

In the second place, satins with bands of gold and silver, some with bands

of different colours, and some all uniform are made there, and it is the same with the taffetas.

Thirdly, patoles, which are stuffs of silk, very soft, decorated all over with flowers of different colours, are manufactured at Ahmadabad. They vary in price from 8 to 40 rupees the piece. This is one of the profitable investments of the Dutch, who do not permit any member of their Company to engage in this private trade. They are exported to the Philippines, Borneo, Java, Sumatra, and other neighbouring countries.

2. Painted cotton cloths [chites] from Masulipatam, Lahore, Sironj, Burhanpur; baftas, dyed at Agra and Ahmadabad, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier²

The chites [chintzes] or painted cotton cloths which are called cal-mendar [qalamdar], that is to say, painted with a brush, are made in the Kingdom of Golkonda, and particularly in the neighbourhood of Masulipatam; but the quantity turned out is so small that when one makes requisition on all the workers who manufacture these cotton cloths it is with difficulty that he can obtain as much as three bales. The chites made in the Empire of the Great Mogul are printed, and are of different degrees of beauty, according to the printing and the fineness of the cotton cloth. Those made at Lahore are the coarsest of all, and consequently the cheapest. They are sold by corges, a corge consisting of 20 pieces, and costing from 16 to 30 rupees. The chites made at Sironj are sold at from 20 to 60 rupees the corge or thereabouts. All the chites I am about to speak of are printed cotton cloths, of which bedcovers are made, and also sufras or tablecloths, according to the custom of the country, pillowcases, pocket-handkerchiefs, and especially waistcoats for the use of both men and women, principally in Persia. The chites of bright colours are manufactured at Burhanpur. They are made into handkerchiefs, which are at present much used by those who take snuff, and a sort of veil called ormis [orhnis], which the women throughout Asia use to put on their heads and wrap about their necks.

The baftas or cotton cloths required to be dyed red, blue, or black, are taken uncoloured to Agra and Ahmadabad, because these two towns are near the places where indigo is made, which is used in dyeing. They cost from 2 rupees the piece up to 30 or 40 rupees, according to the fineness and the amount of gold at the ends, and in some also at the sides. The Indians know how to pass some of these cloths through a certain water which causes them to appear like a waved camlet, and these pieces are the dearest.

3. White cotton cloth taken to Baroda and Broach for bleaching, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier³

White cotton cloths come partly from Agra and the vicinity of Lahore,

partly from Bengal, and some from Baroda, Broach, Renonsari [Navasari, Baroda], and other places. They come in a crude condition to Renonsari and Broach, where they have the means of bleaching them in large fields, on account of the quantity of lemons growing in the neighbourhood, for cotton cloths can never be well bleached if they are not steeped in lemon juice.

The cotton cloths brought from Agra, Lahore and Bengal are sold by corges, and cost from 16 up to 300 or 400 rupees and even more, according as the merchant directs them to be made. The cotton cloths from Renonsari and Broach are 21 cubits long when crude, but only 20 cubits when bleached. Those from Baroda are 20 cubits when crude, and $19\frac{1}{2}$ when bleached. The cotton cloths or baftas from these three towns are of two kinds; for there are both broad and narrow kinds; it is the narrow of which I have just spoken, and they are sold at from 2 to 6 mahmudis each. The broad baftas are $1\frac{1}{3}$ cubit wide, and the piece is 20 cubits long. They are commonly sold at from 5 to 12 mahmudis, but the merchant on the spot can have them made much wider and finer, up to the value of 500 mahmudis the piece. In my time I have seen two pieces of them sold, for each of which 1,000 mahmudis were paid. The English bought one and the Dutch the other, and both were 28 cubits long. Muhammad Ali Beg, when returning to Persia from his embassy to India, presented Cha Sefi II (Shah Safi) with a coconut of the size of an ostrich's egg, enriched with precious stones; and when it was opened a turban was drawn from it 60 cubits in length, of a muslin so fine that you would scarcely know what it was that you held in your hand. When returning from one of my voyages, I had the curiosity to take with me an ounce of thread, of which a livre's weight cost 600 mahmudis, and the late Queen-Dowager, with many of the ladies of the Court, was surprised at seeing a thread so delicate, which almost escaped the view.

4. Spun and unspun cotton from Burhanpur, Gujarat, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier⁴

Both spun and unspun cotton come from the Provinces of Burhanpur and Gujarat. The unspun cottons are not sent to Europe, being too bulky and of too small value; they are exported only to the Red Sea, Hormuz, Bassora, and sometimes to the islands of Sonde (Sunda archipelago in the Sunda straits) and to the Philippines. As for the spun cottons, the English and Dutch Companies export large quantities to Europe, but they are not of the finest qualities; of the kinds exported the maund weight is worth from 15 to 50 mahmudis. These are the kinds which are used to make the wicks of candles, and stockings, and to mix with the web of silken stuffs. As for the finest qualities, they are of no use in Europe.

5. Bengal store house of cotton and silk, Francois Bernier⁵

In regard to valuable commodities of a nature to attract foreign merchants, I am acquainted with no country where so great a variety is found. Besides the sugar I have spoken of, and which may be placed in the list of valuable commodities, there is in *Bengale* such a quantity of cotton and silks, that the kingdom may be called the common storehouse for those two kinds of merchandise not of *Hindoustan* or the Empire of the *Great Mogol* only, but of all the neighbouring kingdoms, and even of *Europe*. I have been sometimes amazed at the vast quantity of cotton cloths, of every sort, fine and coarse, white and coloured, which the *Hollanders* alone export to different places, especially to *Japan* and *Europe*. The *English*, the *Portuguese*, and the native merchants deal also in these articles to a considerable extent. The same may be said of the silks and silk stuffs of all sorts. It is not possible to conceive the quantity drawn every year from *Bengale* for the supply of the whole of the *Mogol Empire*, as far as *Lahor* and *Cabol*, and generally of all those foreign nations to which the cotton cloths are sent. The silks are not certainly so fine as those of *Persia*, *Syria*, *Sayd* [close to the ancient site of Sidon], and *Barut* [Beirut], but they are of a much lower price; and I know from indisputable authority that, if they were well selected and wrought with care, they might be manufactured into most beautiful stuffs. The *Dutch* have sometimes seven or eight hundred natives employed in their silk factory at *Kassem-Bazar*, where, in like manner, the *English* and other merchants employ a proportionate number.

6. White cloth mingled with gold and silver at Burhanpur, Jean de Thevenot⁶

The great Trade of the Province is in Cotton-cloath, and there is as much Traffick at *Brampour* [Burhanpur], as in any place of the *Indies*. Painted Cloaths are sold there, as every where else; but the white are particularly esteemed, because of the lovely mixture of Gold and Silver that is in them, whereof the rich make Veils, Scarfs, Handkerchiefs and Coverings, but the white Cloaths so Adorned, are dear. In short, I do not think that any Countrey of *Indostan* abounds so much in Cotton as this do's which bears also plenty of Rice and Indigo. The same Trade is driven at *Orixa*, *Berar*, and other Towns of this Province.

B. SOME FAMOUS ARTS AND CRAFTS OF INDIA

1. Boats of Malabar, Tome Pires⁷

There are in Malabar *tones catures*, which are long rowing boats, covered over on top, leaving just room for a man to worm his way in. Each one of these

takes from ten to twenty oars. They are light, and there are a great many of them, and archers go in them. They belong to Mukkuvan *Arees* [chief of the fishermen], who have many people and wealth, and there are many along this coast, and if they find a ship that has been becalmed, by rowing they take it wherever they like, against the will of the ship's crew, because they are great archers.

2. Crafts of Kashmir, shawls of unrivalled excellence, Francois Bernier⁸

The workmanship and beauty of their *palekys*, bedsteads, trunks, inkstands, boxes, spoons, and various other things are quite remarkable, and articles of their manufacture are in use in every part of the *Indies*. They perfectly understand the art of varnishing, and are eminently skilful in closely imitating the beautiful veins of a certain wood, by inlaying with gold threads so delicately wrought that I never saw anything more elegant or perfect. But what may be considered peculiar to *Kachemire*, and the staple commodity, that which particularly promotes the trade of the country and fills it with wealth, is the prodigious quantity of shawls which they manufacture, and which gives occupation even to the little children. These shawls are about an ell and a half long, and an ell broad, ornamented at both ends with a sort of embroidery, made in the loom, a foot in width. The *Mogols* and *Indians*, women as well as men, wear them in winter round their heads, passing them over the left shoulder as a mantle. There are two sorts manufactured: one kind with the wool of the country, finer and more delicate than that of *Spain*; the other kind with the wool, or rather hair (called *touz*) found on the breast of a species of wild goat which inhabits *Great Tibet*. The *touz* shawls are much more esteemed than those made with the native wool. I have seen some, made purposely for the *Omrahs*, which cost one hundred and fifty *roupies*; but I cannot learn that the others have ever sold for more than fifty. They are very apt, however, to be worm-eaten, unless frequently unfolded and aired. The fur of the beaver is not so soft and fine as the hair from these goats.

3. Multitude of craftsmen, Jon Olafsson⁹

There is a great multitude of craftsmen in India...they work in masonry, wood, clay and iron, after all kinds of patterns. They also make statuary and work surpassingly well in copper, in elephant-bone and tusks and other such things; also they do masterly work in gold set with precious stones and pearls, and in silver and brass. Moreover they are skilful in every kind of weaving and in painting and dyeing their cotton cloth with every kind of colour, for which purpose they have long houses without walls, within which are tables as long as the houses, and on them they have their pots of all colours and their brushes or pens, with which they mark and draw on all the cotton cloth and silk which

they intend to dye...

Iron work is much practiced, both of large and small objects. Tinkers go daily about the streets of the town past the houses, calling out that if any person needs aught their craft, that it should be brought out and declared. These men carry bellows and anvil, hammer and tongs with them, and their boy trails after them with a sack of coals.

4. Fine palanquins and chariots, Jean de Thevenot¹⁰

...The finest *Palanquins* that are in all *Indostan*, are made at *Tatta*, and there is nothing neater, than the Chariots with two Wheels, which are made there for Travelling. It is true, they have but few Coaches, because few *Europeans* go thither, and hardly any of the *Indians* make use of Coaches but they; but these Chariots are convenient enough for Travelling, and are not harder than Coaches. They are flat and even, having a border four fingers broad, with Pillars all round, more or fewer, according to the fancy of him for whom it is made; but commonly there are but eight, of which there are four at the four corners of the Engine, the other four at the sides, and thongs of Leather are interwoven from Pillar to Pillar, to keep one from falling out. Some, (I confess,) have the Chariot surrounded with Ballisters of Ivory, but few are willing to be at the charges of that, and the Custom of making use of that Net-work of Leather, makes that most part cares not for Ballisters, but go so about the Town, sitting after the Levantine manner, upon a neat Carpet that covers the bottom of the Chariot. Some cover it above with a slight Imperial, but that commonly is only when they go into the Country, to defend them from the Sun-beams.

This Machine hath no more but two Wheels put under the side of the Chariot, and not advancing outwards, they are of the height of the fore Wheels of our Coaches; have eight square spoaks, are four or five fingers thick, and many times are not shod. Hackny-coaches to Travel in, with two Oxen, are hired for five and twenty pence, or half a Crown a day; but whatever ease the *Indians* may find in them, our Coaches are much better, because they are hung.

The Wheels of Waggons or Carts, for carrying of Goods, have no Spoaks; they are made of one whole piece of solid Timber, in form of a Mill-stone, and the bottom of the Cart, is always a thick frame of Wood. These Carts are drawn by eight or ten Oxen, according to the heaviness of the Loads. When a Merchant conveys any thing of consequence, he ought to have four Soldiers, or four Pions [peons], by the sides of the Waggon; to hold the ends of the Rope that are tyed to it, to keep it from overturning, if it come to heeld in bad way; and that way is used in all Caravans, though commonly they consist of above two hundred Waggons.

Indians that are Wealthy, Travel neither in Chariots nor Coaches: They make use of an Engine which they call *Palanquin*, and is made more neatly at

Tatta, than any where else. It is a kind of Couch with four feet, having on each side ballisters four or five Inches high, and at the head a feet a back-stay like a Childs Cradle, which sometimes is open like Ballisters, and sometimes close and Solid. This Machine hangs by a long Pole, which they call *Pambou* [bamboo], by means of two frames nailed to the feet of the Couch, which are almost like to those that are put to the top of moving Doors, to fasten Hangings by; and these two frames which are the one at the head, and the other at the opposite end, have Rings through which great Ropes are put, that fasten and hang the Couch to the *Pambou*.

5. Goldsmiths at Agra, Jean de Thevenot¹¹

They have a way in this Town of working in Gold upon Agat, Chrystal and other brittle matters, which our Goldsmiths and Lapidaries have not. When the Indians would beautifie Vessels, Cups, or Coffers; besides the Circles of Gold they put about them, they engrave Flowers and other Figures, and also enchain Stones upon them. They cut leaves of Gold to fill up the void spaces of the Figures, lay several pieces one upon another, and enchain them so artificially [skilfully] in the hollow places, with an Iron Instrument like a Graver, that when the void spaces are filled up, it looks like Massie [solid] Gold. They do the same with Stones, they encompass them also with such pieces of Leaf-Gold, and press them in so close that the Stones hold very well.

They make Rings about Vessels, either about the middle or brims, of a kind of Gold made into little round Rods, which they beat upon an Anvil, till they be reduced into flat thin Plates; then they take the measure of the part of the Vessel which they would incircle and having most exactly bent the Ring, they Soulder the two ends of it together, and put it upon the part of the Vessel they intend it for; so that it holds very well, provided one have the skill to adjust it true to the place marked: If Handles be necessary to the Vessels, or Locks for the Coffers of Agat or Crystal, they soulder them to the Ring with the same Art that they souldered the two ends of it; but they do it after another way than our Goldsmiths do. For that end they make use of little red Beans which are black at the end, and are the fruit of a *Convolvulus*, called in Indian *Gomtchi*, and in the *Telenghi* (Telugu) Language, *Gourghindel* [ghungchi]. They peel off the Skin which is dry and hard, and taking the inside of the Bean that is yellowish, they grind it upon an Iron-Plate with a little Water till it be dissolved into a Liquid Solution; then they pound a little bit of Borax, mix it with that Solution, and with this mixture dawb the ends which they intend to soulder, and having heated them with a Coal, joyn them together; so that the two sides close fast and hold extraordinarily well.

This work is performed by poor People, and sometimes by little Boys, who do it very skilfully and quickly, for a matter of two Crowns for each tole of Gold;

and something is also given to him that beats and flattens the Rods of Gold: However none of these People know how to Enammel Gold.

C. INDIGO, SALTPETRE, GUM LAC, WAX, LONG PEPPER

1. Centres of indigo production, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier¹²

Indigo comes from different localities of the Empire of the Great Mogul, and in these different localities it is of various qualities, which increase or diminish its price.

In the first place some comes from the territory of Biana [Bayana, Bharatpur State], from Indoua [Hindaun, Jaipur State], and from Corsa [Khurja, United Provinces], one or two days' march from Agra; this is considered to be the best of all. It is also made at eight days' march from Surat, and at two leagues from Ahmadabad, in a village called Sarkhej. It is from thence indigo cake comes, and some of the same kind and nearly of the same price also comes from the country of the King of Golkonda...

...Indigo is also produced at 36 leagues from Burhanpur on the road to Surat at a large village called Raout [Aravad, Chopra sub-division, East Khandest district], and other small villages in its neighbourhood; and the people there generally sell more than 100,000 rupees worth of it every year.

There is lastly the indigo of Bengal, which the Dutch Company conveys to Masulipatam; but this indigo and that of Burhanpur and Ahmadabad can be bought cheaper by 30 per cent than that of Agra.

Method of preparing indigo

Indigo is prepared from a plant which is sown every year after the rains; before preparation it much resembles hemp. It is cut three times in the year, the first cutting taking place when it is about 2 or 3 feet high; and it is then cut to within 6 inches of the ground. The first leaf is certainly better than those which follow, the second yielding less by 10 or 12 per cent than the first, and the third 20 per cent less than the second. It is classified by the colour, determined when a morsel of the paste is broken. The colour of the indigo made from the first crop is of a violet-blue, which is more brilliant and more lively than the others, and that of the second is more lively than that of the third...

After the Indians have cut the plant they throw it into tanks made of lime, which become so hard that one would say that they were made of a single piece of marble. The tanks are generally from 80 to 100 paces in circuit, and when half-full of water, or a little more, they are filled up with the cut plant. The Indians mix it and stir it up with the water every day until the leaf – for the stem is of no account – becomes reduced into slime or greasy earth. This done, they allow it

to rest for some days, and when they see that all has sunk to the bottom and that the water is clear above, they open the holes made round the tank to allow the water to escape. The water having been drawn off, they then fill baskets with the slime, after which, in a level field, each man sits near his basket, takes this paste in his fingers, and moulds it into pieces of the shape and size of a hen's egg cut in two — that is to say, flat below and pointed above. But the indigo of Ahmadabad is flattened and made into the shape of a small cake. It is to be particularly remarked, that the merchants, in order to escape paying custom on useless weight, before sending the indigo from Asia to Europe are careful to sift it, so as to separate the dust attached to it, which they afterwards sell to the people of the country, who make use of it in their dyes. Those who are employed to sift the indigo observe great precautions, for while so occupied they hold a cloth in front of their faces, and take care that all their orifices are well closed, only leaving two small holes in the cloth for the eyes, to see what they are doing. Moreover, both those who sift the indigo and the writers of sub-merchants of the Company who watch them sifting, have to drink milk every hour, this being a preservative against the subtlety of the indigo. All these precautions do not prevent those who are occupied for eight or ten days, sifting indigo, from having all that they expectorate coloured blue for some time. I have indeed on more than one occasion observed that if an egg is placed in the morning near one of these sifters, if it is broken in the evening, it is found to be altogether blue inside, so penetrating is the dust of indigo.

As the men take the paste from the baskets with their fingers steeped in oil, and mould it in pieces, they expose them to the sun to dry. When the merchants buy the indigo they always burn some pieces in order to see if there is any sand mixed with it. For the peasants who take the paste out of the baskets to separate it into pieces, after they have dipped their hands in oil, place it in the sand, which mingles with the paste and makes it heavier; but when burnt the indigo is reduced to ashes and the sand remains entire. The Governors do all they can to stop this fraud, but there are always some who practise it.

2. **Saltpetre from Agra and Patna, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier¹³**

Saltpetre comes in abundance from Agra and from Patna, a town of Bengal; that which is refined costs three times as much as that which is impure. The Dutch have established a depot at Chapra, which is 14 leagues above Patna; and the saltpetre refined there is sent by river to Hugly. The Dutch imported boilers from Holland, and employed refiners to refine the saltpetre for themselves; but have not succeeded, because the people of the country, seeing that they wished to deprive them of the profits of refining, would not supply them any longer with whey, without the aid of which the saltpetre cannot be

bleached, for it is worth nothing at all if it is not very white and very transparent. A maund of saltpetre costs 7 mahmudis.

3. Method of manufacture of saltpetre, Francisco Pelsaert¹⁴

Saltpetre is found in many places near Agra, at distances of from 10 to 40 kos; it occurs usually in villages which have formerly been inhabited, and have been for some years abandoned. It is prepared from three kinds of earth, black, yellow, and white, but the black earth gives the best quality, being free from salt or brackishness. The method of manufacture is as follows. Two shallow reservoirs like salt-pans are made on the ground, one much larger than the other. The larger is filled with the salt earth and flooded with water from a channel in the ground; the earth is then thoroughly trodden out by numbers of labourers till it is pulverised and forms a thin paste; then it is allowed to stand for two days, so that the water may absorb all the substance. The water is then run off by a large outlet into the other reservoir, where a deposit settles, which is crude saltpetre. This is evaporated in iron pans once or twice, according to the degree of whiteness and purity desired, being skimmed continually until scarcely any impurities rise. It is then placed in large earthen jars, holding 25 to 30 lb.; a crust forms in the dew during the night, and if any impurities are still left, they sink to the bottom; the pots are then broken, and the saltpetre dried in the sun. From 5000 to 6000 maunds should be obtainable yearly in Agra alone, without reckoning the produce of places at a distance. The peasants, however, have now recognised that the produce, which was formerly cheap and in small demand, is wanted by us as well as by the English, who are also beginning to buy, and, like monkeys, are eager to imitate whatever they see done by others. The result is that, instead of the old price of 1½ rupees for a maund of 64 lb., it is now up to 2 or 2½ rupees, and likely to rise steadily.

4. Gum lac, opium, wax, long pepper, Francois Bernier¹⁵

...[from Bengal] the best lac, opium, wax, civet, long pepper, and various drugs are obtained; and butter [ghee], which may appear to you an inconsiderable article, is in such plenty, that although it be a bulky article to export, yet it is sent by sea to numberless places.

D. SOME DRUGS PREPARED IN INDIA, FRANCISCO PELSAERT¹⁶

Borax

Borax is found in the Eastern mountains [Tibet], in the dominions of a very powerful king, named Raja Bikram, the extent of whose kingdom may be judged from the fact that it stretches to the frontiers of the White Tartars. Men

of that nation carry on an extensive trade in it, because it yields many commodities in much demand, such as musk, civet, borax, spikenard, quicksilver, brass and copper, and a dye named *meynsel* which gives a handsome red-and-yellow colour. The inhabitants bring all these goods to Donga, 150 [?] kos from Agra and a great market; it is in Jahangir's territory, but is administered by Raja Bichha. The place where borax is found is named Tachelachan [possibly modern Taklakot]; it occurs in a river which flows through the eastern mountains and falls into a great lake called Masseroer [Manasarowar]. This lake must be very far away, for few or none of them [? my informants] have seen it, but they assert on the strength of their old books that in reality it can only be the sea, and not a lake. Owing to the peculiar quality of the water, the borax settles like coral in the bed of the river, and is dug out twice a year, and sold without any further treatment such as refining or evaporating. The supply is very large, sufficient to satisfy the whole world, and it usually sells at the low price of 4 or 5 rupees for a maund of 60 lb. It is brought to Agra in bales packed in sheepskin, each weighing 4 maunds; here we pack it in bladders, which are filled with bitter oil, to prevent deterioration from long keeping or from its natural qualities.

Spikenard

Spikenard grows wild in the mountains and is not sown. The plants grow a handbreadth high, and are closely intertwined; they are called *koilte kie*. Spikenard is here considered to be a valuable medicine or drug, particularly for stiffened limbs; it is rubbed down with oil, smeared on the limb, and allowed to dry; it produces warmth, and expels the cold...

Sal ammoniac

Sal ammoniac is found at Thanesar or Sirhind, on the road to Lahore. It is a sort of scum which forms on the site of very old brick-kilns; it is dug and purified by evaporation, like saltpetre. The usual price is 7 to 7½ rupees per maund, but under instructions from our employers we have now ceased to purchase it.

E. DIAMOND INDUSTRY

1. Diamond-cutters at Rammalakota Mines [Province of Carnatic], Jean-Baptiste Tavernier¹⁷

There are at this mine numerous diamond-cutters, and each has only a steel wheel of about the size of our plates. They place but one stone on each wheel, and pour water incessantly on the wheel until they have found the 'grain' of the stone. The 'grain' being found, they pour on oil and do not spare diamond

dust, although it is expensive, in order to make the stone run faster, and they weight it much more heavily than we do.

I have known them to weight a stone with 150 livers of lead. It is true that it was a large stone, which weighed 130 carats after it had been cut, and that the mill was like ours, the large wheel of which was turned by four blacks. The Indians do not agree with us in believing that weighting them causes flaws in the stones. If theirs do not receive any it is because they always have a small boy who holds in his hand a very thin wooden spoon with which he anoints the wheel incessantly with oil and diamond powder. Besides this their wheel does not go so fast as ours, because the wooden wheel which causes the steel one to revolve is seldom more than 3 feet in diameter. The Indians are unable to give the stones such a lively polish as we give them in Europe; this, I believe, is due to the fact that their wheels do not run so smoothly as ours. For, being made of steel, in order to grind it on the emery, of which it has need every twenty-four hours, it has to be taken off the tree, and it cannot be replaced so as to run as evenly as it should do...

Although a particular diamond may be by nature hard, having, so to speak, a kind of knot, such as is seen in wood, the Indian diamond-cutters would not hesitate to cut such a stone, although our diamond-cutters in Europe would experience great difficulty in doing so, and as a general rule would be unwilling to undertake it; but the Indians are paid something extra for their trouble...

Trade in diamonds

The merchants who visit the mine to buy, remain in their dwellings, and every morning at from 10 to 11 O'clock the masters of the miners, after they have dined (for the Banians never leave their houses till they have washed and eaten), take their diamonds to show to them. If the parcels are large, and contain many stones of the value of from 2,000 up to 15,000 or 16,000 ecus, they entrust them to the foreign merchant for seven or eight days or more in order that he may examine them with care. When the stones have been examined, and are returned by the merchant, if they suit him he should conclude the transaction at once, otherwise the owner of the stones wraps them in a corner of his waist band, his turban, or his shirt, and departs, so that one never sees the same stones again, or at least they are mixed with others, when the miner returns with another parcel. When the transaction is concluded the puchaser gives an order for payment on the Shroff or person who issues and receives bills of exchange. If you have agreed to pay in three or four days, and delay longer, you have to pay interest at the rate of 1½ per cent per month. Most frequently, when the merchant is known to be solvent, a bill of exchange on Agra, Golkonda, or Bijapur is preferred, but more especially one upon Surat, where, as it is the most famous

port in India, the dealers desire to purchase the commodities which come in vessels from foreign countries, and are suitable for their wants.

Children of diamond merchants in business

It is very pleasant to see the young children of these merchants and of other people of the country, from the age of ten years up to the age of fifteen or sixteen, assemble every morning under a tree which is in the town square. Each has his diamond weights in a little bag suspended on one side, and on the other a purse attached to his waistband, which contains as much as 500 or 600 gold pagodas. They seat themselves there awaiting the arrival of anyone who wishes to sell diamonds either brought from this or from some other mine. When anyone brings a stone he places it in the hands of the eldest of the children, who is, so to speak, the chief of the band; he looks at it and passes it on to him who sits next. Thus it goes from hand to hand till it returns to the first one without anyone saying a word.

He then asks the price of the specimen, wishing to purchase, if possible; and if by chance he buys at too high a price he is responsible. In the evening these children count up what they have purchased, and after examining the stones separate them according to their water, weight and cleanness. Next they price each as they expect to dispose of them to strangers, and by this they see how far the value exceeds the cost of purchase. They then carry them to the great merchants who always have a number of parcels to match, and all the profit is divided among the children, save only that their chief receives a quarter per cent more than the others. Young as they are, they know the value of all the stones so well that if one of them has bought a stone and is willing to lose a half per cent, another gives him cash for it. You can seldom show them a parcel of a dozen stones, among which they will not discover four or five with some flaw, point, or defect at the angles...

Silent trade in diamonds

I have to record a rather singular and curious account of the manner in which the Indians, whether they are idolaters or Musalmans, make their sales of all kinds of commodities. All passes in complete silence and without any one speaking. The seller and the buyer sit facing one another like two tailors, and one of the two opening his waistband, the seller takes the right hand of the buyer and covers his own with his waistband, under which in the presence of many other merchants, who occupy themselves sometimes in the same manner, the sale is completed secretly without anyone having cognizance of it. For the seller and buyer talk neither by means of their lips nor their eyes, but only by the hand, which they manage to do in the following manner: When the seller takes the whole hand of the buyer that means 1,000, and as many times as he presses it

so many thousands of pagodas or rupees, according to the coin which may be in question. When he takes only five fingers that means 500, and when he takes only one it means 100. By taking only the half up to the middle joint, 50 is meant, and the end of the finger up to the first signifies 10. This is the whole mystery employed by the Indians in their sales, and it often happens that, in a place where there are many people, a single parcel will change hands five or six times without those present knowing for how much it has been sold on each occasion. As for the weight of the stones, one need not be deceived if he does not buy in secret. For when one buys them in public there is a man specially employed by the King to weigh diamonds, who receives no fees from private persons. When he names the weight, both buyer and seller accept his statement, since he has no interest in favouring either party.

2. Trade in precious stones in Goa, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier¹⁸

Goa was formerly the place where there was the largest trade in all Asia in diamonds, rubies, sapphires, topazes, and other stones. All the miners and merchants went there to sell the best which they had obtained at the mines, because they had there full liberty to sell, whereas, in their own country, if they showed anything to the Kings or Princes, they were compelled to sell at whatever price was fixed. There was also at Goa a large trade in pearls, both of those which came from the island of Bahrein in the Persian Gulf, and those fished for in the straits of Manar on the coast of the island of Ceylon, as also of those which were brought from America. It should be known then, that in Goa and in all the other places which the Portuguese hold in India, they have a particular weight for pearls which is not used in the other places where there is a trade in pearls, neither in Europe, Asia, nor America. I do not include Africa, because this trade is unknown there, and because in that part of the world the women content themselves, in lieu of jewels, with pieces of crystal, beads of false coral, or yellow amber, of which they make necklaces and bracelets to wear on their arms and legs.

F. TOWNS AND BAZAARS

1. Gaur, Ludovico di Varthema who visited between 1503 and 1508¹⁹

One of the best that I had hitherto seen...Fifty ships are laden every year in this place with cotton and silk stuffs...These same stuffs go through all Turkey, through Syria, through Persia, through Arabia Felix, through Ethiopia, and through all India.

2. Gaur, as described by a visiting Portuguese in 1521²⁰

The town is situated on a large plain which is flat like the whole of the

surrounding area. The streets and lanes are paved with brick like the Lisbon New Street. The market is everywhere and everything – food and other goods alike – is in plentiful supply and very cheap. The streets and cross-lanes are so full of people that [it] is impossible to move and it has reached the point where the high noblemen have taken to being preceded along the road to the palace by men carrying bamboo sticks to push people out of the way.

3. Quilon, Tome Pires²¹

It is a great port of call where the ships of many merchants from different places do a great deal of trade in this kingdom.

4. Calicut, Tome Pires²²

The town is large and has many inhabitants, and a great deal of trading is done there by many merchants, natives of Malabar as well as Klings, Chettis and foreigners from all parts, both Moors and heathens. It is a very famous port and is the best thing in all Malabar. Many nations used to have great factories here... They make many kinds of silken cloths here, and preserves.

5. Agra heavily populated, crowded bazaars, William Finch²³

Agra hath not been in fame above fiftie yeeres, being before Acabars [Akbar's] time a village; who removed (as you have heard) from Fetipore [Fatehpur Sikri] for want of good water. It is spacious, large, populous beyond measure, that you can hardly passe in the streets, which are for the most part dirty and narrow, save only the great bazar and some few others, which are large and faire. The citie lyeth in manner of a halfe-moone, bellying to the land-ward some 5 c. in length, and as much by the rivers side, upon the bankes whereof are many goodly houses of the nobility, pleasantly over-looking Gemini, which runneth with a swift current from the north to the south, somewhat easterly into Ganges.

6. Bijapur a great town, Ralph Fitch²⁴

Bisapor, which is a very great towne where the king doeth keepe his court. Hee hath many Gentiles in his court, and they bee great idolaters. And they have their idols standing in the woods, which they call Pagodes. Some bee like a cowe, some like a monkie, some like buffles, some like peacockes, and some like the devill. Here be very many elephants which they goe to warre withall. Here they have good store of gold and silver. Their houses are of stone, very faire and high. Form hence wee went for Gulconda, the king whereof is called Cutup de lashach [Qutb Shah]. Here and in the kingdome of Hidalean, and in the countrey of the king of Decan [Ahmadnagar], bee the diamants found of the olde water. It is a very faire towne, pleasant, with fare houses of bricke and timber. It

aboundeth with great store of fruities and fresh water. Here the men and the women do go with a cloth bound about their middles, without any more apparell. We found it here very hote. The winter beginneth here about the last of May. In these partes is a porte or haven called Masulipatan, which standeth eight dayes journey from hence toward the Gulfe of Bengala, whether come many shippes out of India [Portuguese India], Pegu, and Sumatra, very richly laden with pepper, spices, and other commodities. The countrie is very good and fruitfull.

7. Dacca, where Khatris are rich beyond belief, Fray Sebastian Manrique²⁵

Many strange nations resort to this city on account of its vast trade and commerce in a great variety of commodities, which are produced in profusion in the rich and fertile lands of this region. These have raised the city to an eminence of wealth which is actually stupefying, especially when one sees and considers the large quantities of money which lie principally in the houses of the Cataris [Khatris], in such quantities indeed that, being difficult to count, it is usual commonly to be weighed.

8. Ahmadabad, two hundred laden coaches leave every ten days for Cambay, William Finch²⁶

Amadabade or Amadavar is a goodly city and seittuate on a faire river, inclosed with strong wals and faire gates, with many beautifull turrets... The buildings comparable to any citie in Asia or Africa, the streets large and well paved, the trade great (for almost every ten dayes goe from hence two hundred coaches richly laden with merchandise for Cambaya), the merchants rich, the artificers excellent for carvings, paintings, inlayd workes, imbroydery with gold and silver. At an houres warning it hath in readiness sixe thousand horse; the gates perpetually strong guarded; none suffered without license to enter, nor to depart without certificate...

9. Ahmadabad, merchants from various places reside here, Nicholas Withington²⁷

...Here are marchaunts of all places resydinge, as well Chrystians as Moores and Gentills. The commodities of this place are cloth of gould, silver tissue, vellvets (but not comparable to ours), taffetase and other stuffes, and divers druggs, with other commodities.

10. Ahmadabad, a considerable trade centre, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier²⁸

Ahmadabad is one of the largest towns in India, and there is a considerable trade in silken stuffs, gold and silver tapesries, and others mixed with silk; saltpetre, sugar, ginger, both candied and plain, tamarinds,

mirabolans, and indigo cakes, which are made at three leagues from Ahmadabad, at a large town called Suarkej [Sarkhej].

11. Cambay, houses with cisterns to preserve monsoon water, great concourse of ships, Pietro Della Valle²⁹

Cambaia is a City...seated on the Seashore, in a plain, almost in the utmost recess of that great Gulph whereunto it gives its name. The City, that is the inner part without the Suburbs, is encompass'd with walls, built with plain cortines and round battlements. The Houses within are roofed with coverings of tiles and Cisterns, which is the custom in *India* for provision of Water, which falls in such plenty during those three months of the great Summer rains. In our Countries they would be ordinary Houses, but in these parts they are counted good, and perhaps the best of the whole Province; and they are made shady and cool, as the heat of the place requires. The City hath no form'd Port, because it stands in a low Plain, but 'tis call'd a Port, by reason of the great concourse of Vessels thither from several parts, which nevertheless for the most part are Frigots, Galeots, and other small ones of that make, which go either by oar or sail, because great ones cannot come near the Land by a great way.

12. Bazaar at Calicut, Pietro Della Valle³⁰

...we went to see the *Bazar* which is near the shore; the Houses, or rather Cottages, are built of Earth and thatched with Palm-leaves, being very low; the Streets also are very narrow, but sufficiently long; the Market was full of all sorts of Provisions and other things necessary to the livelihood of that people, conformably to their Custom...

13. City of Calicut, Pietro Della Valle³¹

...the City is great, and we found it to consist of plots set with abundance of high Trees, amongst the boughs whereof were a great many wild monkeys, and within these close Groves stand the Houses, for the most part at a distance from the common Wayes, or Streets; they appear but small, little of their outsides being seen; besides low walls made of a black stone surround these Plots and divide them from the Streets, which are much better than those of the *Bazar*, but without any ornament of Windows, so that he that walks through the City may think that he is rather in the midst of uninhabited Gardens than of an inhabited City. Nevertheless it is well peopled and hath many inhabitants, whose being contented with narrow Buildings is the cause that it appears but small...

14. Banaras, foreigners buy silk directly, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier³²

Benares is a large and very well-built town, the majority of the houses being of brick and cut stone, and more lofty than those of other towns of India;

but it is very inconvenient that the streets are so narrow. It has several caravansarais, and, among others, one very large and well built. In the middle of the court there are two galleries where they sell cottons, silken stuffs, and other kinds of merchandise. The majority of those who vend the goods are the workers who have made the pieces, and in this manner foreigners obtain them at first hand. These workers, before exposing anything for sale, have to go to him who holds the contract, so as to get the imperial stamp impressed on the pieces of calico or silk, otherwise they are fined and flogged.

15. Markets in Delhi, costly goods not on open display, Francois Bernier³³

Here the costly merchandise is generally kept in warehouses, and the shops are seldom decked with rich or showy articles. For one that makes a display of beautiful and fine cloths, silk, and other stuffs striped with gold and silver, turbans embroidered with gold, and brocades, there are at least five-and-twenty where nothing is seen but pots of oil or butter, piles of baskets filled with rice, barley, chick-peas, wheat, and an endless variety of other grain and pulse, the ordinary aliment not only of the *Gentiles*, who never eat meat, but of the lower class of *Mahometans*, and a considerable portion of the military.

Fruit market in Delhi

There is, indeed, a fruit-market that makes some show. It contains many shops which during the summer are well supplied with dry fruit from *Persia*, *Balk*, *Bokara*, and *Samarkande*; such as almonds, pistachios, and walnuts, raisins, prunes, and apricots; and in winter with excellent fresh grapes, black and white, brought from the same countries, wrapped in cotton; pears and apples of three or four sorts, and those admirable melons which last the whole winter. These fruits are, however, very dear; a single melon selling for a crown and a half...

Ambas or *Mangues*, are in season during two months in summer, and are plentiful and cheap; but those grown at *Dehli* are indifferent. The best come from *Bengale*, *Golkonda*, and *Goa*, and these are indeed excellent. I do not know any sweetmeat more agreeable.

Pateques, or water-melons, are in great abundance nearly the whole year round; but those of *Dehli* are soft, without colour or sweetness. If this fruit be ever found good, it is among the wealthy people, who import the seed and cultivate it with much care and expense.

Confectioners' shops

There are many confectioners' shops in the town, but the sweat meats are badly made, and full of dust and flies....

Meat shops

In the *bazars* there are shops where meat is sold roasted and dressed in a variety of ways. But there is no trusting to their dishes, composed, for aught I know, of the flesh of camels, horses, or perhaps oxen which have died of disease. Indeed no food can be considered wholesome which is not dressed at home.

16. Trade at Multan, Jean de Thevenot³⁴

Multan, which comprehends *Bucor* [Bakhar], has to the South the Province of *Sinde*, and to the North the Province of *Caboul*; as it hath *Persia* to the West, and the Province of *Lahors* to the East. It is watered with many Rivers [the Indus and its tributaries Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Sutlej] that make it Fertile. The Capital Town which is also called *Multan* was heretofore a place of very great Trade, because it is not far from the River *Indus*; but seeing at present, Vessels cannot go up so far, because the Chanel of that River is spoilt in some places, and the Mouth of it full of shelves, the Traffick [trade] is much lessened, by reason that the charge of Land-carriage is too great: However the Province yields plenty of Cotton, of which vast numbers of Cloaths are made. It yields also Sugar, Opium, Brimstone, Galls [from which dye is obtained], and store of Camels, which are transported into *Persia*, by *Gazna*, and *Candahar*, or into the *Indies* themselves by *Lahors*; but whereas the Commodities went heretofore down the *Indus* at small Charges, to *Tatta*, where the Merchants of several Countries came and bought them up, they must now be carried by Land as far as *Surat*, if they expect a considerable price for them.

...It furnishes *Indostan* with the finest Bows that are to be seen in it, and the nimblest Dancers.

G. PORTS AND TRADE

1. Diu

(a) A good port, Garcia da Orta³⁵

Diu is an island which includes a city and a good port with a very considerable trade and concourse of many merchants, Venetians, Greeks, Rumes, Turks, Persians and Arabs.

(b) Muslim ships cannot pass without passport from Portuguese, Ralph Fitch³⁶

The first citie of India that we arrived at upon the fift of November, after we had passed the coast of Zindi [Sind], is called Diu, which standeth in an

iland in the kingdome of Cambaia, and is the strongest towne that the Portugales have in those partes. It is but little, but well stored with marchandise; for here they lade many great shippes with diverse commodities for the streits of Mecca, for Ormus, and other places, and these be shippes of the Moores and of Christians. But the Moores cannot passe, except they have a passepore from the Portugales.

2. Goa

(a) Yearly arrival of fleet from Portugal, Ralph Fitch³⁷

Here bee many marchants of all nations. And the fleete which commeth every yeere from Portugal, which be foure, five, or sixe great shippes, commeth first hither. And they come for the most part in September, and remaine there fortie or fiftie dayes; and then goe to Cochin, where they lade their pepper for Portugall. Often-times they lade one in Goa; the rest goe to Cochin, which is from Goa an hundred leagues southward.

(b) Rich heathen merchants, brisk trade, Jan Huygen van Linschoten³⁸

The Heathenish Indians that dwell in Goa are very rich Merchants, and traffique much: there is one street within the Towne, that is full of shops kept by those Heathenish Indians that not only sell all kinds of Silkes, Sattins, Damaskes, and curious workes of Porceline from China and other places, but all manner of wares, Veluet, Silke, Sattin and such like, brought out of *Portugals* which by means of their Brokers they buy by the great, and sell them againe by the piece or elles wherein they are very cunning, and naturally subtile. There is also another street, where the Benianes of Cambaia dwell that haue all kinds of wares out of Cambaia, and all sorts of precious stones, and are very subtile and cunning to bore and make holes in all kinds of stones, Pearls, and Corrals: on the other side of the same street dwell other Heathens which sell all sorts of Bedsteads, Stooles, and such like stuffe very cunningly couered ouer with Lacke, most pleasant to behold, and they can turne the Lacke into any colour that you will desire. There is also a street full of Gold and Silver Smiths that are Heathens, which make all kind of workes, also diuers other Handicrafts men, as Copper-smiths, Carpenters, and such like Occupations, which are all Heathens, and euery one a street by themselves. There are likewise other Merchants that deale all by great, with Corne, Rice, and other Indian wares and merchandises, as Wood and such like. Some of them farme the Kings Rents and revenues, so that they are skilfull euery way to make their profits. There are also many Heathen Brokers very cunning and subtile in buying and selling, and with their tongues to pleade on both sides.

3. Surat

(a) Great traffic to Mecca, Edward Terry³⁹

The ship that usually goeth from Surat to Moha [Mokha] is of exceeding great burthen. Some of them, I beleieve, at the least fourteene or sixteene hundred tunnes; but ill built, and, though they have good ordnance, cannot well defend themselves. In these ships are yeerely abundance of passengers for instance, in one ship returning thence, that yeere we left India, came seventeene hundred, the most of which number goe not for profit but out of devotion to visite the sepulchre of Mahomet at Medina, neere Meche, about one hundred and fiftie leagues from Moha. Those which have beeene there are ever after called Hoggeis [Haji], or holy men.

The ship bound from Surat to the Red Sea beginnes her voyage about the twentieth of March, and finisheth it towards the end of September following. The voyage is but short and might easily bee made in two moneths; but in the long season of raine, and a little before and after it, the winds are commonly so violent that there is no comming, but with great hazard, into the Indian Sea. The ship returning is usually worth two hundred thousand pounds sterling, most of it in gold and silver. Besides, for what quantitie of monies comes out of Europe by other meanes into India, I cannot answere; this I am sure of, that many silver streames runne thither, as all rivers to the sea, and there stay, it being lawfull for any nation to bring in silver and fetch commodities, but a crime not lesse then capitall to carry any great summe thence. The coyne or bullion brought thither is presently melted and refined, and then the Mogols stampe (which is his name and title in Persian letters) put upon it.

(b) Hindu merchants ask incoming ship to sell entire cargo, Surat centre of ship-building, Niccolao Manucci⁴⁰

It is the largest port in India and the best river. Thus, it is resorted to by a great number of ships from different parts of Europe, Persia, Arabia, Mecca, Bassora, the coasts of Malabar and Choramandal, Massulapatao [Masulipatam or Machhliptanam], Bengal, Siam, Acheen, Queddah, the Maldives, Malacca, Batavia, Manilla, China and many other parts of the world.

Whenever a loaded vessel arrives, the Hindu traders go aboard and ask if the captain wishes to sell the whole cargo of the ship. If so, they pay for it in money, or furnish goods for the return cargo, whichever is preferred. This is all done without delays, and merchants can thus acquire whatever merchandise they are in search of, and for which they have left home. On this river are built very fine lofty ships in a very short time, everything necessary being found, principally excellent timber; for which reason these ships last much longer than those made in Europe.

(c) Port of Surat richest in the world, Manuel Godinho⁴¹

Surat is the biggest trading centre of India, and I may say the richest in the whole world, because the best merchandise from all over flocks there, both by land and by sea. Goods from Europe are carried by the English and the Dutch, from Africa by the ships from the Red Sea and from all over Asia by its inhabitants. Even the best of Indian drugs [including chemical compounds and medicinal and vegetable substances] find their way into Surat, overland, in caravans of bullocks and camels which keep on streaming in all the time. The merchants and businessmen living in that city are extremely wealthy, some are worth over five to six millions and own up to fifty ships which sail every where. Foreign vessels visiting the port are countless. At any time of the year one may find in Surat ships bound for China, Malacca, Achin, Macassar, Moluccas, Djakarta, Maldives, Bengal, Tenasserim, Ceylon, Cochin, Cannanore, Calicut, Mecca, Aden, Suez, Mogadishu, Kishm, Muscat, Madagascar, Hormuz, Basra, Sind, England, and so on, to any place one may think of.

4. Bharuch, a great centre of trade in cotton and agates, Pietro Della Valle⁴²

Having travell'd sixteen *Cos*, which was from *Surat* in all two and twenty, before Evening we arriv'd at the City of *Barocci*, or *Behrug*, as they call it in Persian; under the walls whereof, on the South side, runs a River call'd *Nerbeda* [Narmada, Sanskrit "giver of bliss"], which we ferried over. The City is encompass'd with a wall of moderate bigness, built high upon a rising hill. For the circuit 'tis populous enough, as generally are all the parts of *India*. 'Tis considerable for a very great Trade of fine Cotton Cloth, or Callico, made more plentifully there than in other places, and dispersed not onely through *Asia*, but also into our *Europe*, so that the English and Dutch (which two Nations have Houses of constant residence here) freight five or six great ships therewith every year; and for the better imbarking of it, make it up in very great bales, each as big as a Roman Coach; and every piece of Cloth, little bigger than one of our Towels, being carri'd to *Aleppo*, will not be sold for less than three or four *Piastres*, and in *Italy* at least for six crowns. Whence you may infer what wealth comes out of this small City alone, which for compass and buildings is not greater than *Siena* of *Tuscany*, although 'tis above three times as populous, and you may also consider to what summ the Prince's Costumes arise.

A few *Cos* from the City is a Mine of Calcidonies and Agates, white and green; but these stones are carry'd less into *Barocci* than to *Cambaia*, although it be further from the Mine, because there is a Sea-port, and a greater concourse of foreign Merchants; and in *Cambaia* they are wrought into little Globes, either

round or oval, to make Coronets or Necklaces, and also little Cups and divers other curious vessels for ornament.

The Sea comes not up to *Barocci* even at the highest tides, but is about as many miles distant as 'tis from *Surat*.



Chapter 5

Architecture

- A. Temples and Caves
- B. Tanks and Lakes
- C. Forts, Palaces
- D. Town Planning
- E. Mosques
- F. Mausoleums

A. TEMPLES AND CAVES

1. Elephanta Caves

- (a) 'The best of all' pagodas, Garcia da Orta [first European to record his impressions, in 1534]¹

Another pagoda, the best of all, is on an island called Pori [Gharapuri], which we call the Isle of the Elephant...On the walls, all round, there are sculptured images of elephants, lions, tigers, and many human images, some like Amazons, and in many other shapes well sculptured. Certainly it is a sight well worth seeing and it would appear that the devil had used all his powers and knowledge to deceive the gentiles into his worship. Some say it is the work of the Chinese when they navigated to the land. It might well be true seeing that it is so well worked.

- (b) One of the wonders of the world, Dom Joao de Castro, Viceroy of Goa [1545-1548]²

The mountain on this island which I said was opposite the Northern region, on the one side, which is a continuous cliff, is hard natural rock. Beneath the mountain a vast temple was cut and fashioned, hollowing out the living rock, a temple of such marvellous workmanship that it seems impossible for

it to have been made by human hands. All the works, images, columns, reliefs, workrooms, which are there are carved in the massive stone of the mountain, all of which seems to pass beyond the bounds of nature; indeed, the proportions and the symmetry with which each figure and everything else is made would be well worth the while of any painter to study, even if he were Apelles. This temple is 35 *bracas* long, 25 wide and about 4 high. And what greater monument to pride could men fashion than to hollow out a very hard natural rock by means of iron and sheer tenacity, and thereby to enter into such vast spaces?

(c) 'Remarkable' and 'stupendous' temple, the *Mahesa-murti*
 "curious and beautiful crown on the head," Portuguese historian,
*Diego do Couto*³

...not only the figures looked very beautiful, but the features and workmanship could be very distinctly perceived, so that neither in silver or wax could such figures be engraved with greater nicety, fineness or perfection...

The From the pavement of this chapel issued a body from the waist upwards of so enormous size, that it fills the whole vacuum in length and breadth of the chapel: it has three large faces, the middle one looks to the north, the second to the west, and the other to the east. Each of these faces has two hands, and on the neck two large necklaces, wrought with considerable perfection. The figures have on their heads three very beautiful crowns.

...[the interior was covered with a fine coat of lime and bitumen which] made the Pagoda so bright, that it looked very beautiful and was worth seeing.

(d) Figures so well cut, *Jan Huygen van Linschoten*⁴

...and round about the wals are cut and formed, the shapes of Elephants, Lions, Tigers...Amazones and [many] other [deformed] things of divers sorts, which are all so well [and workmanlike] cut, that it is strange to behold.

(e) Miraculous work, defaced by Portuguese, *John Fryer*⁵

Having in a Week's time compleated my Business, returning the same way, we steered by the *South* side of the Bay, purposely to touch at *Elephanto*, so called from a monstrous Elephant cut out of the main Rock, bearing a Young one on its Back; not far from it the Effigies of an Horse stuck up to the Belly in the Earth in the Valley; from thence we clambered up the highest Mountain on the Island, on whose Summit was a miraculous Piece hewed out of solid Stone: It is supported with Forty two *Corinthian* Pillars, being a Square, open on all sides but towards the *East*; where stands a Statue with three Heads, crowned with strange Hieroglyphicks: At the *North* side in an high *Portuco*

stands an Altar, guarded by Giants, and immured by a Square Wall; all along, the Walls are loaded with huge Giants, some with eight hands, making their vanquished Knights stoop for mercy. Before this is a *Tank* full of water, and beyond that another Place with Images. This seems to be of later date than that of *Canorein* [Kanheri], though defaced by the *Portugals*, who have this Island also...

(f) Animal sculptures fascinating, statues designed to evoke reverence, J. Ovington⁶

Here likewise are the just dimensions of a Horse Carved in Stone, so lively with such a Colour and Carriage and the shape finisht with that Exactness, that many have Fancyed it, at a distance, a living Animal, than only a bare Representation.

...These Figures have been Erected not barely for displaying the Statuary's skill, or gratifying the Curiosity of the Sight, but by their admirable Workmanship were more likely design'd to win upon the Admiration, and thereby gain a kind of Religious Respect from such Heathens as came near them.

2. The Pagoda of Salsette

(a) Made by spirits, Dom Joao de Castro⁷

A league and a half away from the destroyed city of Thana, among some vast mountains, there is a huge and high rock, almost spherical, inside which from the bottom right up to the top is carved out a large and noble space with many sumptuous temples and marvellous buildings. And this whole handiwork and group of dwellings is set in many rows, as in some palaces. In the whole of this building there is not a single image, column, house, portico, figure, pillar, cistern, temple, chapel or anything else which is not carved out of the very stone of this rock, a thing which certainly is not within the capability of mortals. Through many investigations, I believe this work to be so amazing that it is almost one of the seven wonders of the world, except if its worth were undermined by its seeming that men are not capable of it, and that the craft and possibility to achieve it did not lie within their understanding and power, but that it was made by spirits and diabolical art. As for me I am in no doubt of it at all. And supposing that it is so, even then it is a difficult thing to be able to believe that this skill is so powerful as to make something which nature would find difficult.

(b) Images cut out of rock, Jan Huygen van Linschoten⁸

By the town of Bassaym...there lyeth an Island called Salsette. There

are two of the most renowned Pagodes, or temples, or rather holes wherein the Pagodes stand in all India...Images therein cut out of the [very] rockes of the same hill, with most horrible and fearefull [forms and] shapes...all the chambers...are all full of carved Pagodes, of so fearefull, horrible and develish formes [and shapes] that it is [an abomination to see].

3. Destruction of temple in Goa by the Portuguese, letter by the Florentine, Andrea Corsali in 1515 to Duke Giuliano de' Medici⁹

In this land of Goa and the whole of India there are numerous ancient edifices of the pagans. In a small island nearby called Divari, the Portuguese in order to build the land of Goa have destroyed an ancient temple called Pagoda, which was built with a marvellous artifice, with ancient figures of a certain black stone worked with the greatest perfection, of which some still remain standing in ruins and damaged because the Portuguese do not hold them in any esteem. If I could obtain one of these sculptures thus ruined, I would have sent it to your lordship, so that you may judge in what great esteem sculpture was held in antiquity.

4. Kanheri Caves

(a) Sculpted to perfection, "may certainly be reckoned one of the wonders – and perhaps the greatest in the world", Diego do Couto¹⁰

...in the centre of this Island there exists that wonderful Pagoda of Canari, thus called from its being supposed to have been the work of the Canaras. It is constructed at the foot of a great Hill of Stone of light grey colour; there is a beautiful Hall at its entrance, and in the yard that leads to the front back door, there are two human figures engraved on the same stone, twice as big as the Giants exhibited on the Procession of the Corpus Christi feast in Lisbon, so beautiful, elegant, and so well executed, that even in Silver they could not be better wrought and made with such perfection.

(b) City all cut of rock, John Fryer¹¹

...Next Morn before Break of Day we directed our Steps to the anciently fame'd, but now ruin'd City of *Canorein*; the way to it is so delightsome, I thought I had been in *England*; fine Arable, Pasture, and Coppices; thus we passed Five Mile to the Foot of the Hill on which the City stands, and had passed half a Mile through a thick Wood, peopled by Apes, Tygers, wild Buffalo's, and Jackalls; here were some Flocks of Parockets: When we alighted, the Sun began to mount the *Horizon* over the Hills, and under our Feet, as if he had newly bathed his fiery Coursers; there appeared the Mouth of a *Tank*,

or Aqueduct, out of a Rock, whose steaming Breath was very hot, but water cold: From hence it is thought the whole City to be supplied with Water; for as we ascend, we find such Places, where convenient, filled with Limpid Water, not over-matched in *India*: If it be so, (as I know not how to contradict it) that it should have its Current upwards, through the hard Rocks artificially cut, the World cannot parallel so wonderful a Water-course!

From hence the Passage is uneasy and inaccessible for more than two abreast, till we come to the City, all cut out of a Rock; where is presented *Vulcan's Forge*, supported by two mighty Colosses, bellied in the middle with two Globes. Next a Temple with a beautiful Frontispiece not unlike the *Portuoco* of *St. Paul's West Gate*: Within the Porch on each side stand two Monstrous Giants [the Chaitya Caves, the giants being Buddhas], where two Lesser and one Great Gate give a noble Entrance; it can receive no Light but at the Doors and Windows of the Porch, whereby it looks more solemnly; the Roof is Arched, seeming to be born up by huge Pillars of the same Rock, some Round, some Square, 34 in number. The *Cornish* Work of Elephants, Horses, Lions; at the upper end it rounds like a Bow; near where stands a great Offertory somewhat Oval, the Body of it without Pillars, they only making a narrow Piatzo about, leaving the Nave open: It may be an 100 Feet in Length, in Height 60 Feet or more.

The Darbar cave

Beyond this, by the same Mole-like Industry, was worked out a Court of Judicature (as those going to shew it will needs give Names) or Place of Audience, 50 Feet square, all bestuck with Imagery, Well Engraven according to old Sculpture. On the Side, over against the Door, sate one Superintendent, to whom the *Brachmin* went with us, paid great Reverence, not speaking of him without a token of worship; whom we called *Jougy* [jogi], or the Holy Man; under this the way being made into handsome Marble Steps, are the King's Stables, not different from the Fashion of our Noblemen's Stables, only at the head of every Stall seems to be a *Dormitory*, or Place for Devotion, with Images, which gave occasion to doubt if ever for that End; or rather made for an Heathen Seminary of Devotes and these their Cells or Chappels, and the open Place their Common Hall or School: More aloft stood the King's Palace, large, stately and magnificent, surrounded with lesser of the Nobility.

Portuguese attempts to destroy the caves

To see all, would require a Month's time; but that we might see as much as could be in our allotted time, we got upon the highest part of the Mountain, where we feasted our Eyes with innumerable Entrances of these Cony-burrows, but could not see one quarter part. Whose Labour this should be, or for what

purpose, is out of memory; but this Place by the *Gentiles* is much adored...the *Portugals*, who are now Masters of *it*, strive to erace the remainders of this *Herculean Work*, that it may sink into the oblivion of its Founders.

(c) One of the greatest wonders in Asia, Giovanni Careri¹²

The *Pagod* or Temple of the *Canarin*, whereof I intended to give an exact and true account, is one of the greatest wonders in Asia; as well because it is look'd upon as the Work of Alexander the Great, as for its extraordinary and incomparable Workmanship, which certainly could be undertaken by none but Alexander. What I most admire is that it is almost unknown to Europeans; for tho' I have made much enquiry, I do not find that any *Italian*, or other *European Traveller* has writ of it...

I climb'd the bare Craggy Rock with the Idolater, at the top whereof on the East side the great *Pagod* is hewn out, with other small ones by it.

The first piece of Workmanship that appears, consists of two large Columns, 2 Spans high, the third part of them from the bottom upwards is square, the middle part Octangular, and the top round. Their Diameter is six Spans; they are fifteen spans distant from one another, and each of them eight from the Rock, which is cut after the same manner. These Columns support a Stone Architrave forty four Spans long, four in thickness and eight in breadth; cut like the rest out of the same Rock. These 3 Porticos lead into a sort of Hall or Passage Room, four Spans long, cut in the same Rock. At the end of it are three Doors, one fifteen Spans high, and eight in Breadth, which is the middlemost, and two others four Spans square on the sides, which are the way into a lower place. Over these Doors is a Cornish four Spans broad, of the same Stone; over which thirty Spans above the Ground, there are other such Doors, or Windows cut in the Rock. At the same height, there are little Grots, or Dens, six Spans high, of which the middlemost is the biggest. Thirty four Spans above the Ground, in the same place is such another Grot. It is no easy matter to conceive what the use of all this was...

On the same side is the Famous *Pagod of the Canarin* [the Great Chaitya Cave]. The Entrance to it is through an opening forty Spans Spans long, in a Wall of the same Stone, fifty Spans long, and eight Spans thick, on which there are three Statues. On the right Hand before you go into the *Pagod*, is a round Grot, above fifty Spans about, in which round the Wall, there are many Statues sitting, and some standing, and one on the left, is bigger than the rest. In the middle rises a round *Cupola*, cut out of the same Rock, like a Pillar of the same Stone, with several Characters carv'd about it, which no Man can ever explain. Going into the first Porch of the *Pagod*, which is 50 Spans square, there are on the sides two Columns 60 Spans high, with their Capitals, and six Spans Diameter. On that upon the Right Hand coming in, there are two Statues.

Beyond these Columns at the entrance of a Grot, on the left there are two great Statues standing, and looking at one another. Still further in are two vast big Statues on the Left, and one on the Right of the Door, all standing, with several little Statues by them, only within the space of that Porch; for going into the adjoining Grot, which is 24 Spans square, there is nothing worth observing. On the right Hand, where the Lions are, there are no Statues, but two large Vessels upon convenient Pedestals.

Hence there are three equal Doors thirty Spans high, and eight broad, but that in the middle even with the Floor, those on the sides five Spans above it, into another plain Place. Here there are four Columns twelve Spans high, standing on the Rock it self, between the five Windows that give Light to the *Pagod*. On the right side of the Door there are some unknown Letters worn with Age, as is all the rest of the Work. In this Place on the sides, besides several small Figures, there are two vast Statues of Giants standing, above twenty five Spans high; shewing their right Hands open, and holding a Garment in the left, on their Heads the same Caps, and in their Ears Pendants after the *Indian* Fashion.

At the Entrance of the great Gate of the *Pagod*, which is fifteen Spans high, and ten in breadth, there are on the Right four Statues standing, one of which is a Woman holding a Flower in her Hand; and twelve other less, some sitting and some standing, with their Hands on their Breasts, and something in them. On the left are four other Statues, two whereof are Women, with large Rings about their Ancles of the same Stone, and sixteen little Statues on their sides, some sitting, some standing, and some with their Hands on their Breasts, as was said before. Over the said Door there are other two great ones, and as many opposite to them, with three little ones standing. On the left Hand within is another Inscription in the same Character: Over the Arch of this Door is a Window forty Spans wide, which is the width of the *Pagod*, with a Stone like an Architrave in the middle, supported on the inside by two Octangular Pillars.

The *Pagod* is Arch'd, forty Spans in breadth, and one Hundred in length, and rounded at the end, besides the four Columns at the Entrance, there are thirty more within, which divide it into three Isles; seventeen of them have Capitals, and Figures of Elephants on them, the rest are Octangular and Plain. The space between the Columns and the Rock, that is, the breadth of the side Isles is six Spans. At the end of the *Pagod*, there is a sort of round *Cupola*, thirty Spans high, and sixteen of my Paces about, cut in the same Rock, but not hollow within. I believe it serv'd for some use, which we being Ignorant of the ancient Customs of those Times cannot guess at. I know not what Judgment Portuguese Authors make of it, because their Books are scarce at *Naples*; but they it is certain are well acquainted with it, the Viceroy's

themselves sometimes coming from *Goa* to see it; yet it is most likely they could never discover the Truth.

All that has been hitherto Describ'd is Cut in the very Rock, without any Addition to the Statues, or any thing that may be parted. But on the Floor of the *Pagod* there are several hew'd Stones, which perhaps serv'd for Steps to some Structure.

Coming out of the *Pagod*, and ascending fifteen Steps, all cut in the Rock, I found two Cisterns of Rain-Water, good to Drink; and as many Steps above that, a Grott sixteen Spans square, and a great one further on with much Water standing in it. Mounting twenty Spaces higher, I found another Grott twenty Spans square, which led to another of the same Dimensions, and that into one of twelve. In the first was a rising Window with Steps to it cut in the Rock, with two Columns near a small Cistern...

5. Ellora, surpassing human force, Jean de Thevenot¹³

...The first thing I saw were very high Chappels, and I entered into a Porch cut out of the Rock, which is of a dark grayish Stone, and on each side of that Porch, there is a Gigantick figure of a Man cut out of the natural Rock [the dwarapalas, door-keepers on the north side of the court of the Kailash temple], and the Walls are covered all over with other figures in relief, cut in the same manner. Having passed that Porch, I found a Square Court [court of the Kailash temple], an hundred paces every way: The Walls are the natural Rock, which in that place is six Fathom high, Perpendicular to the Ground-plat, and cut as smooth and even, as if it were Plaster smoothed with a Trewel. Before all things, I resolved to view the outside of that Court, and I perceived that these Walls, or rather the Rock hangs, and that it is hollowed underneath; so that the void space makes a Gallery almost two Fathom high, and four or five broad: It hath the Rock for Ground, and is supported only by a row of Pillars cut in the Rock, and distant from the floor of the Gallery, about the length of a Fathom, so that it appears as if there were two Galleries. Everything there is extreamly well cut, and it is really a wonder to see so great a Mass in the Air, which seems so slenderly under-propped, that one can hardly forbear to shiver at first entering into it...

I entered into a great Temple built in the Rock [the Kailash temple built by the Rashtrakuta king, Krishna in the 8th century]; it has a flat Roof, and adorned with Figures in the inside, as the Walls of it are: In that Temple there are eight rows of Pillars in length, and six in breadth, which are about a Fathom distant from one another.

The Temple is divided into three parts: The Body of it, (which takes up two thirds and a half of the length,) is the first part, and is of an equal breadth all over; the Quire, which is narrower, makes the second part; And the third,

which is the end of the Temple, is the least, and looks only like a Chappel; in the middle whereof, upon a very high Basis, there is a Gigantick Idol, with a Head as big as a Drum, and the rest proportionable. All the Walls of the Chappel are covered with Gigantick Figures in relief, and on the outside all round the Temple, there are a great many little Chappels adorned with Figures of an ordinary bigness in relief, representing Men and Women, embracing one another.

Leaving this place, I went into several other Temples of different structure, built also in the Rock, and full of Figures, Pilasters, and Pillars: I saw three Temples, one over another, which have but one Front all three [the Tin Thal, or three-storeyed cave temple, the last of the twelve Buddhist caves at Ellora]; but it is divided into three Stories, supported with as many rows of Pillars, and in every Story, there is a great door for the Temple; the Stair-cases are cut out of the Rock. I saw but one Temple that was Arched, and therein I found a Room, whereof the chief Ornament is a square Well, cut in the Rock, and full of Spring-water, that rises within two or three foot of the brim of the Well. There are vast numbers of Pagods all along the Rock, and there is nothing else to be seen for above two Leagues: They are all Dedicated to some Heathen Saints, and the Statue of the false Saint, (to which everyone of them is Dedicated,) stands upon a Basis at the farther end of the Pagod...

However it be, if one consider that number of spacious Temples, full of Pillars and Pilasters, and so many thousands of Figures, all cut out of a natural Rock, it may be truly said that they are Works surpassing humane force; and that at least, (in the Age wherein they have been made,) the Men have not been altogether Barbarous, though the Architecture and Sculpture be not so delicate as with us. I spent only two hours in seeing what now I have described, and it may easily be judged, that I needed several days to have examined all the rarities of that place...I broke off my curiosity, and I must confess it was with regret...

TEMPLES

6. The Hariharesvara temple, a work of rare beauty, pillars appear as if made in Italy, Domingo Paes¹⁴

...I shall speak of the city of Darcha, which has a monument such as can seldom be seen elsewhere [18 leagues from Bisnaga, possibly the Hariharesvara temple on the banks of Tungabhadra at Harihar]...This Darcha has a pagoda, which is the monument I speak of, so beautiful that another as good of its kind could not be found within a great distance. You must know that it is a round temple made of a single stone, the gateway all in the manner of joiners' work, with every art of perspective. There are many figures of the said work, standing

out as much as a cubit from the stone, so that you see on every side of them, so well carved that they could not be better done – the faces as well as all the rest; and each one in its place stands as if embowered in leaves; and above it is in the Romanesque style, so well made that it could not be better. Besides this, it has a sort of lesser porch upon pillars, all of stone, and the pillars with their pedestals so well executed that they appear as if made in Italy; all the cross pieces and beams are of the same stone without any planks or timber being used in it, and in the same way all the ground is laid with the same stone, outside as well as in. And all this pagoda, as far round as the temple goes, is enclosed by a trellis made of the same stone, and this again is completely surrounded by a very strong wall, better even than the city has, since it is all of solid masonry. It has three entrance gates, which gates are very large and beautiful, and the entrance from one of these sides, being towards the east and facing the door of the pagoda, has some structures like verandahs, small and low, where sit some Jogis; and inside this enclosure, which has other little pagodas of a reddish colour, there is a stone like mast of a ship, with its pedestal four-sided, and from thence to the top eight-sided, standing in the open air. I was not astonished at it, because I have seen the needle of St. Peter's at Rome, which is as high, or more.

Ganesh image at temple

...In this temple of Darcha is an idol in the figure of a man as to his body, and the face is that of an elephant with trunk and tusks, and with three arms on each side and six hands, of which arms they say that already four are gone, and when all fall then the world will be destroyed; they are full of belief that this will be, and hold it as a prophecy. They feed the idol every day, for they say that he eats; and when he eats women dance before him who belong to that pagoda, and they give him food and all that is necessary, and all girls born of these women belong to the temple.

7. The Four Temples, Chidambaram, Francois Martin¹⁵

We spent the night at Chidambaram, or The Four Temples as it is called by cartographers... The Four Temples are built in the form of four high towers which can be seen from far away. Chidambaram is an important centre. They have built a kind of fort within the precincts of the four temples.

8. Nagapatam, Jan Nieuhof in 1682¹⁶

...not far from the city is a Pagode...called Tzina, the Pinacle of which reaches to the very Clouds, the Inhabitants believe that it was built by the Devil, and that in one Night...

9. A beautiful temple near Pulicat, Jan Nieuhof¹⁷

...the lofty and most ancient Pagode, call'd Tyriopeliri...at a little Distance from the Sea-shoar,...of which I had the Curiosity to take a full View. It is an ancient Structure, the front of which is adorn'd with many Statues Artificially cut in Stone. It is surrounded by a Wall with a Gallery on top of it, over which are placed a great Number of large Coffins, which rest upon Statues of divers Figures...The Walls are made of blue Stones, which are brought thither a vast way, out of the Country, and most Artfully joined together.

10. Some temples in the North

(a) In Chittor, Sir Thomas Roe¹⁸

...toombe of woonderfull magnificence...100 churches all of carved stone...

(b) A delicate grove at Todah, Sir Thomas Roe¹⁹

[full of] little temples and altars of pagods and gentilliticall idolatrye, many...wells, tancks and summer houses of carved stone, curiously arched; so that I must confess a banished Englishman might have beene content to dwell there.

(c) A temple in ruins at Sidhpur, possibly destroyed by Moors, Peter Mundy²⁰

Here is a Hindooe Dewra ruined, it seems by Moores envieing its beautie, adorned on the outside with the best Carved worke that I have seene in India, verie spacious and high, yett not a handbreadth from the foote to the topp but was Curiously wrought with the figures of men and weomen etts. their fabulous stories. Now the said Edifice is defaced by the throwing downe the Copulaes, Arches and pillars thereof, breaking the Armes, Leggs and Noses of the said images...

(d) Joshimath in 1631, Jesuit missionary Francisco de Azevedo²¹

...in front of the main entrance of this pagoda...the statue of an angel made of bronze, very splendid, and the whole very artistic, not only the statue itself but more specially the features.

(e) The Jain temple of Cintamani at Ahmedabad, destroyed by Aurangzeb in 1644-6, rebuilt by the merchant Santidas, John Albert de Mandelslo²²

...the principal Mosquey of the Benjans, which without dispute is one of the noblest structures that can be seen...The Mosquey stands in the middle

of a great Court...all about which there is a gallery, much after the manner of our Cloysters in Monasteries...

(f) Santidas's pagod converted into a mosque by Aurangzeb, Jean de Thevenot²³

Amedabad being inhabited also by a great number of Heathens, there are *Pagods*, or Idol-Temples it. That which was called the *Pagod of Santidas* [temple of Chintaman built by Shantidas, a Jain merchant, in 1638 at a cost of nine lakh rupees] was the chief, before *Auran Zeb* converted it into a Mosque. When he performed that Ceremonie, he caused a Cow to be killed in the place, knowing very well, that after such an Action, the Gentiles according to their Law, could worship no more therein. All round the Temple there is a Cloyster furnished with lovely Cells, beautified with Figures of Marble in relief, representing naked Women sitting after the Oriental fashion. The inside Roof of the Mosque is pretty enough, and the Walls are full of the Figures of Men and Beasts; but *Auranzeb*, who hath always made a shew of an affected Devotion, which at length raised him to the Throne, caused the Noses of all these Figures which added a great deal of Magnificence to that *Mosque*, to be beat off [broken].

11. Some observations on Hindu temples

(a) G. P. Maffei [1588], official historian of Jesuit missions²⁴

[temples]...which are able to compete in magnificence with the most superb of ancient Rome.

(b) Jesuit historian, Du Jarric [1608]²⁵

Temples fort somptueux & magnifiques.

(c) The temple at Nagarkot, Edward Terry²⁶

...most richly set forth, both scaled and paved with plate of pure gold.

(d) On temples in the south and the most celebrated Rameshwaram, Philipp Baldaeus²⁷

In the choice of the Places [for temples], and manner of Building, they follow rather their Instinct or pretended Inspiration, than any general Rule...These Pagodes are on the Coast of Malabar most commonly built of Marble, and on the Coast of Coromandel, of very large square stone; such is the most celebrated Pagode at Rammanakojel, a vast Structure...of which I have been an eyewitness myself...The Pagodes of the Malabars are generally cover'd with Copper, adorn'd with Balls gilt on the top; within and without

stand their Idols with many Heads and Arms, surrounded on sides with Serpents. The Pagode is enclosed by a Brick-wall, for the reception of the People, who don't enter the Pagode, but perform their Worship in the Court...Hence it is that the Gates are well guarded, being commonly either of Marble or covered with Brass, with the Figures of Elephants, Tygers, Bears, and Lyons upon them.

(e) Vishnu and Shiva temples higher than others, Abraham Roger²⁸

The Pagodas of Wistnou [Vishnu] and Eswara [Shiva] are well built and higher than those which are built for lesser gods...the towers are sometimes high, like, among others, the towers of the Pagoda near Tegnepatram.

(f) Rare and admirable works, Thomas Bowrey²⁹

Many, yea most of their Pagods, are very Stately buildings of stone of curious workman Ship of the Same, representing all Sorts of musick and dances to theire Gods, and are Surrounded with cloysters of marble, flat roofed with large and Exceedingly fine marble, Supported with Pillars of the Same, flagged below alsoe with marble, with walks to the great gate of the Pagod...The Entrance vizt. the Great gate of Some of these Pagods, I have often Observed, are most rare and Admirable worke, vizt. a man on horseback cut out in one Entire piece Set upon each Side one full as bigge or bigger than any naturall ones, all of marble, and, which is more rare, I have seen within some of these great Pagods, a large Cart and 2 horses, with all their appurtenances, cut out of an entire Stone.

B. TANKS AND LAKES

1. A water tank at Hospet made by the king of Vijayanagar, Domingo Paes³⁰

...the king made a tank there, which, as it seems to me, has the width of a falconshot, and it is at the mouth of two hills, so that all the water which comes from either one side or the other collects there; and besides this, water comes to it from more than three leagues by pipes which run along the lower parts of the range outside. This water is brought from a lake which itself overflows into a little river.

The tank has three large pillars handsomely carved with figures; these connect above with certain pipes by which they get water when they have to irrigate their gardens and rice-fields. In order to make this tank the said king broke down a hill which enclosed the ground occupied by the said tank. In the tank I saw so many people at work that there must have been fifteen or twenty

thousand men, looking like ants, so that you could not see the ground on which they walked, so many there were; this tank the king portioned out amongst his captains, each of whom had the duty of seeing that the people placed under him did their work, and that the tank was finished and brought to completion.

2. A great engineering feat, Fernao Nuniz³¹

This King [Ajaro, identified with Bukka II] made in the city of Bisnaga many walls and towers and enclosed it anew. Now the city at that time was of no use, there being no water in it by which could be raised gardens and orchards, except the water of the Nagumdy which was far from it, for what water there was in the country was all brackish and allowed nothing to grow; and the King, desiring to increase that city and make it the best in the kingdom, determined to bring to it a very large river which was at a distance of five leagues away, believing that it would cause much profit if brought inside the city. And so he did, damming the river itself with great boulders; and according to story he threw in a stone so great that it alone made the river follow the King's will. It was dragged thither by a number of elephants of which there are many in the kingdom; and the water so brought he carried through such parts of the city as he pleased. This water proved of such use to the city that it increased his revenue by more than three hundred and fifty thousand *pardaos*. By means of this water they made round about the city a quantity of gardens and orchards and great groves of trees and vineyards, of which this country has many, and many plantations of lemons and oranges and roses, and other trees which in this country bear very good fruit. But on this turning of the river they say the King spent all the treasure that had come to him from the king his father, which was a very great sum of money...

3. An antique tank at Merta, William Finch³²

...a very faire tanke...

4. Water tank at Surat, Pietro Della Valle³³

Of remarkable things without the city, there is on one side a very large Cistern, or Artificial Pool, surrounded with stone-work, and contriv'd with many sides, and angles at which there are stairs, leading down to the surface of the water. In the midst stands a little Island, which cannot be gone to but by boat, or swimming. The Diametre of this Artificial Lake is two good furlongs, which in our parts would seem a competent largeness, but here 'tis not much; and this Fish pond of *Surat* is not accounted among the greatest, but the least, in *India*; where indeed they are numerous, and the most magnificent, and goodly structures, or rather, the only structures in this Country which have anything of magnificence, or handsomeness. They are made in divers places

by Princes, Governours of Countries, or other wealthy persons, for the publick benefit, and as works of Charity, because the soil, suitable to the Climate, is sufficiently hot, and aboundeth not in water: Rivers are not in all places; and other running waters, and springs, there are scarce any, especially in the more inland parts remote from the Sea: Rain likewise very seldom during the whole year, saving in that season, called by them Pansekal [Barsa-kal, rainy season], which signifies, *The time of rain*, being about three moneths, beginning about the middle of June, and during which time the Rain is continual, and very great...

Now, for that the Country is in some parts so *scarce of water*, many Cities and inhabited places have no other but the rain-water gather'd in these great Cisterns which are so capacious that one of them suffices a City for a whole year and more: And it not onely affords drink to men and animals but also they wash clothes and beasts in it when occasion requires, and make use of it to all purposes...

The *Cistern* or *Lake of Surat* hath a great trench adjoyn'd to it on one side, long, large and deep, over which certain small bridges are built; and it falls into another less Cistern a good way off, which though but small here, comparatively, would yet be a very large one in our parts. 'tis built with many sides of stone like the former, as also the banks of the Trench are...

This poole of Surat is called *Gopi Telau*, that is, the Poole of *Gopi*, which was his name who made it at his own charge. And although the King, who in those dayes rul'd over *Guzarat*, did what he could to have it called after his own name, yet that of the Builder has been justly retain'd by the vulgar, and remains to this day.

5. **Stately tank at Daulatabad, Jean de Thevenot³⁴**

We saw a stately *Tanquie* at the Town of *Ambar*, it is square, and on three sides faced with Free-stone, with fair steps to go down to it: In the middle of the fourth side there is a Divan, that runs out into the Water about two Fathom; it is covered with Stone, and supported by sixteen Pillars a Fathom high: It stands at the foot of a fair House, from whence they go down into that Divan, by two fine pair of Stairs at the sides of it, there to take the Air and Divert themselves. Near the Divan there is a little Pagod under Ground, which receives day light by the door, and by a square airie, and many Devout People are there, because of the convenience of the Water.

6. **A great reservatory at Sitanagar, Jean de Thevenot³⁵**

When I came down, I perceived at the foot of the Hill, on the East side, a building which I was not told of; I went thither alone with my *Pions*...Near to that Building, there is a Reservatory as broad as the *Seine* at *Paris*; but so

long, that from the highest place I went to, I could not discover the length of it. In that Reservoiry, there is another little Tanquie, seven or eight Fathom square, and Walled in: This Water bring below the House, there is a large pair of Stairs to go down to it; and about an hundred and fifty paces forward, in the great Reservoiry opposite to the House, there is a square Divan or *Quiochque*, about eight or ten Fathom wide, the Pavement whereof is raised about a foot above the Water. That Divan is built and covered with the same Stone, that the House is built of: It stands upon sixteen Pillars, a Fathom and a half high, that's to say, each Front on four.

Seeing my Company kept on their March, I spent but half an hour in viewing that Building, which very well deserves many, as well for examining the design of it, the nature of the Stones, their Cut, Polishing and Bigness; as for considering the Architecture, which is of a very good contrivace, and though it cannot absolutely be said to be of any of our Orders, yet it comes very near the Dorick.

C. FORTS AND PALACES

1. Delhi, ancient stone pillar in front of Sultan's palace, William Finch³⁶

...About 2 c. without Dely is the remainder of an auncient mole [*mahal?*] or hunting house, built by Sultan Berusa [Sultan Firoz Shah, the pillar referred to is the Asoka *lat* brought by him from Meerut], a great Indian monarch, with much curiositie of stoneworke. With and above the rest is to be seen a stone pillar, which, passing through three stories, is higher then all twenty foure foot, having at the top a globe and a halfe moone over it. This stone, they say, stands as much under the earth, and is placed in the water, being all one entire stone; some say Naserdengady, a Potan king [probably Nasiruddin Tughlak, son of Firoz Shah], would have taken it up and was prohibited by multitude of scorpions, and that it hath inscriptions. In divers parts of India the like are to be seene, and of late was found buried in the ground about Fettipore a stone piller of an hundred cubits length, which the King commanded to bring to Agra, but was broken in the way, to his great grieve.

2. Jalor Fort, William Finch³⁷

Jeloure[Jalor]. This...is a castle seated on the height of a steepe mountaine, 3 c. in ascent, by a faire stone cawsey, broad enough for two men to passe abreast. At the first cose end is a gate and place of arms; there the cawsey is inclosed with wals on both sides; and at the 2 c. end is a double gate; at the 3 c. stands the castle, where you must enter three severall gates, the first very strongly plated with iron; the second not so strong, with places

over it to throw downe scalding lead or oyle; the third strongly plated with pikes sticking forth, like harping irons. Betwixt each of these gates are spacious courts for armes, and within the further gate is a faire portcullis. Being entred, on the right hand stands a faire meskite, with divers devoncans adjoyning, both to doe justice and to take the aire. On the left hand stands the Governours house on the height of the hils, over-looking all. A flight-shot [bow-shot] within the castle is a faire pagode built by the founders of the castle, ancestors of Gidney Caun [possibly Ghazni or Ghaznin Khan of Jalor], which were Indians. He turned Moore and bereaved his elder brother of this hold by this stratageme.

3. Allahabad Fort, William Finch³⁸

The towne and castle stand out on the further side of Ganges pleasantly seated, called anciently Praye [Prayag], and is held one of the wonders of the east. Divers Potan [Pathan] kings have sought to build here a castle, but none could doe it till Acabar [Akbar] layd the foundation and proceeded with the worke. It stands on a point or angle, having the river Gemini [Jumna] on the south side falling into Ganges. It hath beene fortie yeeres abuilding, and is not yet finished; neither is like to bee in a long time. The Acabar for many yeeres had attending this worke by report twentie thousand persons, and as yet there continue working thereon some five thousand of all sorts. It will be one of the most famous buildings of the world. In this castle Sha Selim kept, when he rebelled against his father. The outward wals are of an admirable height, of a red square stone, like Agra Castle; within which are two other wals nothing so high. You enter thorow two faire gates into a faire court, in which stands a piller of stone [the Asoka pillar in Allahabad fort] fiftie cubits above ground (so deeply placed within ground that no end can be found), which by circumstances of the Indians seemeth to have beene placed by Alexander or some other great conquerour, who could not passe further for Ganges. Passing this court you enter a lesse; beyond that a larger, where the King sits on high at his dersane to behold elephants and other beasts to fight. Right under him within a vault are many pagodes, being monuments of Baba Adam and Mama Havah [Adam and Eve] (as they call them) and of their progenie, with pictures of Noah and his descent. The Indians suppose that man was heere created, or kept heere at least for many yeeres, affirming themselves to be of that religion whereof these fathers were.

4. Royal palace at Ikkeri, Pietro Della Valle³⁹

...we rode to the Palace, which stands in a Fort, or Citadel, of good largeness, incompass'd with a great Ditch and certain ill built bastions. At the entrance we found two very long, but narrow, Bulwarks. Within the Citadel

are many Houses, and I believe there are shops also in several streets; for we pass'd through two Gates, at both of which there stood Guards, and all the distance between them was an inhabited street. We went through these two Gates on Horse-back, which, I believe, was a privilege, for few did so besides ourselves, namely such only as entered where the King was; the rest either remaining on Horse-back at the first Gate, or alighting at the Entrance of the second. A third Gate also we enter'd, but on foot, and came into a kind of Court, about which were sitting in Porches many prime Courtiers and other persons of quality. Then we came to a fourth Gate, guarded with Soldiers, into which only we *Franchi*, or Christians, and some few others of the Country, were suffer'd to enter...

5. King's palace at Calicut, Pietro Della Valle⁴⁰

The first and principal gate of the Palace opens upon a little Piazza, which is beset with certain very great Trees affording a delightful shade. I saw no Guard before it; it was great and open; but before it was a row of Balusters, about four or five palms from the ground, which serv'd to keep out not only Horses and other Animals but also Men upon occasion. In the middle was a little flight of Stairs, outside the Gate, leading into it, and another within on the other side. Yet, I believe, both the Stairs and the Balusters are movable, because 'tis likely that when the King comes forth the Gate is quite open; otherwise it would not be handsome, but this is only my conjecture. We enter'd this Gate, ascending the Stairs above the Rails, where we were met by the Messenger whom the above-said person had sent to the King and who again invited us into the Palace by the King's Order. Within the Gate we found a great Court, of a long form, without any just and proportionate figure of Architecture; on the sides were many lodgings in several places, and in the middle were planted divers great Trees for shade. The King's chief apartment, and (as I believe by what I shall mention hereafter) where his Women were, was at the end of the Court, opposite to the left side of the Entrance. The Edifice, in comparison of ours, was of little consideration; but, according to their mode, both for greatness and appearance capable of a Royal Family. It had a cover'd porch, as all their structures have, and within that was a door of no great largeness leading into the House.

6. The castle at Mando [Malwa], Jean de Thevenot⁴¹

Though this Town lying at the foot of a Hill, be naturally strong by its Situation, it is nevertheless fortified with Walls and Towers, and has a Castle on the top of the Hill, which is steep, and encompassed with Walls six or seven Leagues in circuit. It is a very neat Town at present, but nothing to what it hath been heretofore: It appears by the Ruins all about, that it hath been

much greater than it is, that it hath had two fair Temples, and many stately Palaces; and the sixteen large *Tanquies* or Reservoiries, which are to be seen still for keeping of Water, shew (that in former times) it hath been a place of great consequence.

7. Castle of Berampur [Khandesh], Jean de Thevenot⁴²

The entry into the Castle [Badshahi Qila] is from the *Meidan*, and the chief Gate is betwixt two large Towers; the Walls of it are six or seven Fathom high; they have Battlements all round, and at certain intervals there are large round Towers which jet a great way out, and are about thirty paces Diametre. This Castle contains the Kings Palace, and there is no entring into it without permission; the *Tapty* running by the East side of that Town, there is one whole Front of the Castle upon the River-side, and in that part of it the Walls are full eight Fathom high, because there are pretty neat Galleries on the top, where the King (when he is at *Brampour*) comes to look about him, and to see the fighting of Elephants, which is commonly in the middle of the River; in the same place, there is a Figure of an Elephant done to the natural bigness, it is of a reddish shining Stone, the back parts of it are in the Water, and it leans to the left side; the Elephant (which that Statue represents) died in that place, fighting before *Cha-Gehan* (the Father of *Auran-Zeb*) who would needs erect a Monument to the Beast, because he loved it, and the Gentiles besmear it with Colours, as they do their Pagods...

8. Fatehpur Sikri, William Finch⁴³

At 7c. on this way, and 12 c. from Agra, is seated the famous citie of Fetipore [Fatehpur Sikri], built by the Acabar, and inclosed with a faire stone wall, which yet standeth fresh, having foure faire and strong gates, it being some three English miles betwixt gate and gate. In the middest it is all ruinate, lying like a waste desart, and very dangerous to passe through in the night, the buildings lying wast without inhabitants; much of the ground beeing now converted to gardens, and much sowed with nill and other graine, that a man standing there would little thinke he were in the middest of a citie. To the entrance of the gate from Agra, some course in length upon a stony ascent, lie the ruines of the suburbs; as also without the southwest gate for two English miles in length, many faire buildings being fallen to the ground; and on the left hand are many faire enclosed gardens, three miles amongst from the citie. At the entrance of the northeast gate is a goodly bazar (market place) of stone, halfe a mile long, being a spacious, straight-paved street, with faire buildings on either side. Close within the gate is the Kings saray, with large stone lodgings, but much ruined. At the head of this street stands the Kings house and moholl, with much curious building; and on the further side hereof, upon

an ascent, stands the goodliest meskite of the East [the Jama Masjid]. It hath some twentie foure or thirty steps of ascent to the gate [the Buland Darwaza], which is one of the highest and fairest (I suppose) in the whole world; on the top are a number of clustering pinnacles, curiously disposed. The top of this gate may be plainly seene eight or tenne miles distance. Within is a goodly spacious court, very curiously paved with free stone, about sixe times the largenesse of Londons Exchange, with faire large walkes amongst the side more then twice as broad and double the height of those about the Burse of London [the Royal Exchange], the pillars upholding them beeing of one intire stone; and round about are entrances into many goodly roomes, neatly contrived.

9. Agra Fort, Jean de Thevenot⁴⁴

Though this Prince [Akbar] pretended to make *Agra* a place of consequence, yet he Fortified it not neither with ramparts, Walls, nor Bastions, but only with a Ditch, hopeing to make it so strong in Soldiers and Inhabitants, that it should not need to fear the attempts of any Enemy. The Castle was the first thing that was built, which he resolved to make the biggest at that time in the *Indies*; and the situation of the old one appearing good and commodious, he caused it to be demolished, and the foundations of the present to be laid. It was begirt with a Wall of Stone and Brick terrassed in several places, which is twenty Cubits high, and betwixt the Castle and River a large place was left for the exercises the King should think fit to divert himself with.

The Kings Palace is in the Castle. It contains three Courts adorned all round with Porches and Galleries that are Painted and Gilt; nay there are some peeces covered with plates of Gold. Under the Galleries of the first Court, there are Lodgings made for the Kings Guards: The Officers Lodgings are in the second; and in the third, the stately appartments of the King and his Ladies; from whence he goes commonly to a lovely Divan which looks to the River, there to please himself with seeing Elephants fight, his Troops exercise, and Plays which he orders to be made upon the Water, or in the open place.

This Palace is accompanied with five and twenty or thirty other very large ones, all in a line, which belong to the Princes and other great Lords of Court; and all together afford a most delightful prospect to those who are on the other side of the River, which would be a great deal more agreeable, were it not for the long Garden-walls, which contribute much to the rendering the Town so long as it is. There are upon the same line several less Palaces and other Buildings. All being desirous to enjoy the lovely prospect and convenience of the Water of the *Gemna*, endeavoured to purchase ground on that side, which is the cause that the Town is very long but narrow, and excepting some fair Streets that are in it, all the rest are very narrow, and without Symmetry.

Before the Kings Palace, there is a very large Square, and twelve other besides of less extent within the Town. But that which makes the Beauty of *Agra* besides the Palaces I have mentioned, are the *Quervanseras* [caravan sarais] which are above threescore in number; and some of them have six large Courts with their Portico's, that give entry to very commodious Appartments, where stranger Merchants have their Lodgings: There are above eight hundred Baths in the Town, and a great number of Mosques, of which some serve for Sanctuary. There are many magnificent Sepulchres in it also, several great Men having had the ambition to build their own in their own life-time, or to erect Monuments to the memory of their Forefathers.

10. Emperor's palace, Delhi, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier⁴⁵

The Emperor's palace is a good half league in circuit. The walls are of fine cut stone, with battlements, and at every tenth battlement there is a tower. The fosses are full of water and are lined with cut stone. The principal gate has nothing magnificent about it, nor has the first court, where the nobles are permitted to enter on their elephants.

Leading from this court there is a long and wide passage which has on both sides handsome porticoes, under which there are many small chambers where some of the horse guards lodge. These porticoes are elevated about two feet from the ground, and the horses, which are fastened to rings outside, take their feed on the edge. In certain places there are large doors, which lead to different apartments, as to that of the women, and to the Judges' court. In the middle of this passage there is a channel full of water, which leaves a good roadway on either side, and forms little basins at equal distances. This long passage leads to a large court where the Omarhs, i.e. the great nobles of the kingdom, who resemble the Bachas [Pachas] in Turkey, and the Khans in Persia, constitute the bodyguard. There are low chambers around this court for their use, and their horses are tethered outside their doors.

From this second court a third is entered by a large gate, by the side of which there is, as it were, a small room raised two or three feet from the ground. It is where the royal wardrobe is kept and whence the khil'at [robe of honour] is obtained whenever the Emperor wishes to honour a stranger or one of his subjects. A little farther on, over the same gate is the place where the drums, trumpets, and hautboys are kept [the Naggar-Khana], which are heard some moments before the Emperor ascends his throne of justice, to give notice to the Omrahs, and again when the Emperor is about to rise. When entering this third court you face the Divan where the Emperor gives audience. It is a grand hall elevated some four feet above the ground floor, and open on three sides. Thirty-two marble columns sustain as many arches, and these columns are about four feet square, with their pedestals and some mouldings [the Chihal Situn,

hall of forty pillars]. When Shahjahan commenced the building of this hall he intended that it should be enriched throughout by wonderful works in mosaic, like those in the chapel of the Grand Duke In Italy; but having made a trial upon two or three pillars to the height of two or three feet, he considered that it would be impossible to find enough stones for so considerable a design, and that moreover it would cost an enormous sum of money; this compelled him to stop the work, and content himself with a representation of different flowers.

In the middle of this hall, and near the side overlooking the court, as in a theatre, they place the throne when the Emperor comes to give audience and administer justice. It is a small bed of the size of our camp beds, with its four columns, the canopy, the back, a bolster, and counterpane; all of which are covered with diamonds.

11. Red Fort, Delhi, Francois Bernier⁴⁶

The entrance of the fortress presents nothing remarkable except two large elephants of stone, placed at either side of one of the principal gates. On one of the elephants is seated the statue of *Jemel*, the renowned Raja of *Chitor*; on the other is the statue of *Polta*, his brother. These are the brave heroes who, with their still braver mother, immortalised their names by the extraordinary resistance which they opposed to the celebrated *Ekbar*...

After passing into the citadel through this gate, there is seen a long and spacious street, divided in the midst by a canal of running water. . The street has a long divan, or raised way, on both sides, in the manner of the *Pontneuf*, five or six feet high and four broad. Bordering the divan are closed arcades, which run up the whole way in the form of gates. It is upon this long divan that all the collectors of market-dues and other petty officers exercise their functions without being incommoded by the horses and people that pass in the street below. The *Mansebdars* or inferior *Omrahs* mount guard on this raised way during the night. The water of the canal runs into the *Seraglio*; divides and intersects every part, and then falls into the ditches of the fortification. This water is brought from the river *Gemna* by means of a canal opened at a distance of five or six leagues above *Dehly*, and cut with great labour through fields and rocky ground.

The other principal gate of the fortress also conducts to a long and tolerably wide street, which has a divan on both sides bordered by shops instead of arcades. Properly speaking, this street is a *bazar*, rendered very convenient in the summer and the rainy season by the long and high arched roof with which it is covered. Air and light are admitted by several large round apertures in the roof.

Besides these two streets, the citadel contains many smaller ones, both to the right and to the left, leading to the quarters where the *Omrahs* mount

guard, during four-and-twenty hours, in regular rotation, once a week. The places where this duty is performed may be called splendid, the *Omrahs* making it a point to adorn them at their own expense....

Large halls are seen in many places, called *Kar-kanays* or workshops for the artisans. In one hall embroiderers are busily employed, superintended by a master. In another you see the goldsmiths; in a third, painters; in a fourth, varnishers in lacquer-work; in a fifth, joiners, turners, tailors, and shoemakers; in a sixth, manufacturers of silk, brocade, and those fine muslins of which are made turbans, girdles with golden flowers, and drawers worn by females, so delicately fine as frequently to wear out in one night. This article of dress, which lasts only a few hours, may cost ten or twelve crowns, and even more, when beautifully embroidered with needlework....

I must not forget the *Am-Kas* [Hall of Public Audience], to which you at length arrive, after passing the places just mentioned. This is really a noble edifice: it consists of a large square court of arcades, not unlike our *Place Royale*, with this difference, however, that the arcades of the *Am-Kas* have no buildings over them. Each arcade is separated by a wall, yet in such a manner that there is a small door to pass from one to the other. Over the grand gate, situated in the middle of one side of this court, is a capacious divan, quite open on the side of the court, called the *Nagar-Kanay*. In this place, which thence derives its name, are kept the trumpets, or rather the hautboys and cymbals, which play in concert at certain hours of the day and night....

Opposite to the grand gate, which supports the *Nagar-Kanay*, as you cross the court, is a large and magnificent hall, decorated with several rows of pillars, which, as well as the ceiling, are all painted and overlaid with gold. The hall is raised considerably from the ground, and very airy, being open on the three sides that look into the court. In the centre of the wall that separates the hall from the *Seraglio*, and higher from the floor than a man can reach, is a wide and lofty opening, or large window [the celebrated *jharokha*], where the Monarch every day, about noon, sits upon his throne, with some of his sons at his right and left; while eunuchs standing about the royal person flap away the flies with peacocks' tails, agitate the air with large fans, or wait with undivided attention and profound humility to perform the different services allotted to each. Immediately under the throne is an enclosure, surrounded by silver rails, in which are assembled the whole body of *Onrahs*, the *Rajas*, and the *Ambassadors*, all standing, their eyes bent downward, and their hands crossed. At a greater distance from the throne are the *Mansebdars* or inferior *Omrahs*, also standing in the same posture of profound reverence. The remainder of the spacious room, and indeed the whole courtyard, is filled with persons of all ranks, high and low, rich and poor; because it is in this extensive hall that the King gives audience indiscriminately to all his subjects: hence it

is called *Am-Kas*, or audience-chamber of high and low...

The grand hall of the *Am-Kas* opens into a more retired chamber, called the *Gosel-Kane*, or the place to wash in. Few persons are permitted to enter this room, the court of which is not so large as that of the *Am-Kas*. The hall is, however, very handsome, spacious, gilt and painted, and raised four or five French feet from the pavement, like a large platform. It is in this place that the King; seated in a chair, his *Omrahs* standing around him, grants more private audiences to his officers, receives their reports, and deliberates on important affairs of state...

D. TOWN PLANNING

Shahjahanabad, Francois Bernier⁴⁷

The two principal streets of the city, already mentioned as leading into the square, may be five-and-twenty or thirty ordinary paces in width. They run in a straight line nearly as far as the eye can reach; but the one leading to the *Lahor* gate is much the longer. In regard to houses the two streets are exactly alike. As in our *Place-Royale*, there are arcades on both sides; with this difference, however, that they are only brick, and that the top serves for a terrace and has no additional building. They also differ from the *Place Royale* in not having an uninterrupted opening from one to the other, but are generally separated by partitions, in the spaces between which are open shops, where, during the day, artisans work, bankers sit for the dispatch of their business, and merchants exhibit their wares. Within the arch is a small door, opening into a ware-house, in which these wares are deposited for the night.

The houses of the merchants are built over these ware-houses, at the back of the arcades: they look handsome enough from the street, and appear tolerably commodious within; they are airy, at a distance from the dust, and communicate with the terrace-roofs over the shops, on which the inhabitants sleep at night; the houses, however, are not continued the whole length of the streets. A few, and only a few, other parts of the city have good houses raised on terraces, the buildings over the shops being often too low to be seen from the street. The rich merchants have their dwellings elsewhere, to which they retire after the hours of business.

There are five streets, not so long nor so straight as the two principal ones, but resembling them in every other respect. Of the numberless streets which cross each other, many have arcades; but having been built at different periods by individuals who paid no regard to symmetry, very few are so well built, so wide, or so straight as those I have described.

Amid these streets are dispersed the habitations of *Mansebdars* or petty

Omrahs, officers of justice, rich merchants, and others; many of which have a tolerable appearance. Very few are built entirely of brick or stone, and several are made only of clay and straw, yet they are airy and pleasant, most of them having courts and gardens, being commodious inside and containing good furniture. The thatched roof is supported by a layer of long, handsome, and strong canes, and the clay walls are covered with a fine white lime...

E. MOSQUES

Jama Masjid, Delhi, Francois Bernier⁴⁸

...the principal *Mosquee*...is conspicuous at a great distance, being situated on the top of a rock in the centre of the town. The surface of the rock was previously levelled, and around it a space is cleared sufficiently large to form a handsome square, where four fine long streets terminate, opposite to the four sides of the *Mosquee*; one, opposite to the principal entrance, in front of the building; a second, at the back of the building; and the two others, to the gates that are in the middle of the two sides. The ascent to the three gates is by means of five-and-twenty or thirty steps of beautiful and large stones, which are continued the whole length of the front and sides. The back part is cased over, to the height of the rock, with large and handsome hewn stone, which hides its inequalities, and tends to give a noble appearance to the building. The three entrances, composed of marble, are magnificent, and their large doors are overlaid with finely wrought plates of copper. Above the principal gate, which greatly exceeds the others in grandeur of appearance, there are several small turrets of white marble that produce a fine effect; and at the back part of the *Mosquee* are seen three large domes, built also of white marble, within and without. The middle dome is much larger and loftier than the other two. The end of the *Mosquee* alone is covered: the space between the three domes and the principal entrance is without any roof; the extreme heat of the climate rendering such an opening absolutely necessary. The whole is paved with large slabs of marble. I grant that this building is not constructed according to those rules of architecture which we seem to think ought to be implicitly followed; yet I can perceive no fault that offends the taste; every part appears well contrived, properly executed, and correctly proportioned. I am satisfied that even in *Paris* a church erected after the model of this temple would be admired, were it only for its singular style of architecture, and its extra-ordinary appearance. With the exception of the three great domes, and the numerous turrets, which are all of white marble, the *Mosquee* is of a red colour, as if built with large slabs of red marble: although it consists of a species of stone, cut with great facility, but apt to peel off in flakes after a certain time.

F. MAUSOLEUMS

1. Mausoleum of Moiuddin Chishti at Ajmer, William Finch⁴⁹

Asmere [Ajmer], seated upon the top of an inaccessible mountaine of 3c. ascent, being a fort invincible; the citie at the foot not great, inclosed with a stone wall, ditched round, the buildings reasonable faire; without the wals are many antiquities, amongst which, some 2 c. toward Agra, is a very faire tanke [Ana Sagar]. This place is only famous for the sepulchre of Hoghee Mundee [Muinuddin Chishti], a saint much respected by the Mogols, to whom (as is said before) the Acabar made a romery on foot from Agra to obtayne a sonne. Before you come to this tombe you passe three faire courts, of which the first contayneth neere an acre of ground, paved all with blacke and white marble, wherein are interred many of Mahomets cursed kindred; on the left hand is a faire tanke inclosed with stone. The second court is paved like the former, but richer, twice as bigge as the Exchange in London; in the middest whereof hangs a curious candlesticke with many lights. Into the third you passe by a brazen gate curiously wrought; it is the fairest of the three, especially neere the doore of the sepulchre, where the pavement is curiously interlayed; the doore is large and inlaid with mother of pearle, and the pavement about the tombe of interlaid marble; the sepulchre very curiously wrought in worke of mother of pearle and gold, with an epitaph in the Persian tongue. A little distant stands his seate in a darke obscure place, where he sat to fore-tell of matters, and is much reverenced. On the east-side stand three other courts, in each a faire tanke; on the north and west stand divers faire houses, wherein keepe their sides [Arabic *saiyid*, 'lord'] or church-men. Note that you may not enter any of these places but bare-foot.

2. Tombs at Agra, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier⁵⁰

As for the tombs in Agra and its environs, there are some which are very beautiful, and every eunuch in the Emperor's harem is ambitious to have as magnificent a tomb built for himself. When they have amassed large sums they earnestly desire to go to Mecca, and take with them rich presents; but the Great Mogul, who does not wish the money to leave his country, very seldom grants them permission, and consequently, not knowing what to do with their wealth, they expend the greater part of it in these burying-places, and thus leave some memorial.

Taj Mahal

Of the tombs at Agra, that of the wife of Shahjahan is the most splendid... I witnessed the commencement and accomplishment of this great work, on which twenty-two years have been spent, during which twenty thousand men worked

incessantly; this is sufficient to enable one to realise that the cost of it has been enormous. It is said that the scaffoldings alone cost more than the entire work, because, from want of wood, they, as well as the supports of the arches, had all to be made of brick; this has entailed much labour and heavy expenditure. Shahjahan began to build his own tomb on the other side of the river, but the war with his sons interrupted his plan, and Aurangzeb, who reigns at present, is not disposed to complete it. A eunuch in command of 2,000 men guards both the tomb of the Begam and the Tasimacan, to which it is near at hand.

3. Taj, Francois Bernier⁵¹

...Resuming the walk along the main terrace, you see before you at a distance a large dome, in which is the sepulchre, and to the right and left of that dome on a lower surface you observe several garden walks covered with trees and many parterres full of flowers.

When at the end of the principal walk or terrace, besides the dome that faces you, are discovered two large pavilions, one to the right, another to the left, both built with the same kind of stone, consequently of the same red colour as the first pavilion. These are spacious square edifices, the parts of which are raised over each other in the form of balconies and terraces; three arches leave openings which have the garden wall for a boundary, and you walk under these pavilions as if they were lofty and wide galleries. I shall not stop to speak of the interior ornaments of the two pavilions, because they scarcely differ in regard to the walls, ceiling, or pavement from the dome which I am going to describe. Between the end of the principal walk and this dome is an open and pretty large space, which I call a water-parterre because the stones on which you walk, cut and figured in various forms, represent the borders of box in our parterres. From the middle of this space you have a good view of the building which contains the tomb, and which we are now to examine.

This building is a vast dome of white marble nearly of the same height as the *Val De Grace* of *Paris*, and encircled by a number of turrets, also of white marble, descending the one below the other in regular succession. The whole fabric is supported by four great arches, three of which are quite open and the other closed up by the wall of an apartment with a gallery attached to it. There the *Koran* is continually read with apparent devotion in respectful memory of *Tage Mehale* by certain *Mullahs* kept in the mausoleum for that purpose. The centre of every arch is adorned with white marble slabs whereon are inscribed large *Arabian* characters in black marble, which produce a fine effect. The interior or concave part of the dome and generally the whole of the wall from top to bottom are faced with white marble: no part can be found that is not skillfully wrought, or that has not its peculiar beauty. Everywhere

are seen the jasper, and *jachen*, or jade, as well as other stones similar to those that enrich the walls of the *Grand Duke's* chapel at *Florence*, and several more of great value and rarity, set in an endless variety of modes, mixed and engraved in the slabs of marble which face the body of the wall. Even the squares of white and black marble which compose the pavement are inlaid with these precious stones in the most beautiful and delicate manner imaginable.

Under the dome is a small chamber, wherein is enclosed the tomb of *Tage Mehale*. It is opened with much ceremony once in a year, and once only; and as no Christian is admitted within, lest its sanctity should be profaned, I have not seen the interior, but I understand that nothing can be conceived more rich and magnificent.

It only remains to draw your attention to a walk or terrace, nearly five-and-twenty paces in breadth and rather more in height, which runs from the dome to the extremity of the garden. From this terrace are seen the *Gemna* flowing below, a larger expanse of luxuriant gardens, a part of the city of *Agra*, the fortress, and all the fine residences of the *Omrahs* erected on the banks of the river. When I add that this terrace extends almost the whole length of one side of the garden, I leave you to judge whether I had not sufficient ground for asserting that the mausoleum of *Tage Mehale* is an astonishing work. It is possible I may have imbibed an Indian taste; but I decidedly think that this monument deserves much more to be numbered among the wonders of the world than the pyramids of *Egypt*, those unshapen masses which when I had seen them twice yielded me no satisfaction, and which are nothing on the outside but heaps of large stones piled in the form of steps one upon another, while within there is very little that is creditable either to human skill or to human invention.

4. Mausoleum of Akbar, Jean de Thevenot⁵²

King *Gehanguir* [Jahangir] caused one to be built for King *Ecbar* his Father, upon an eminence of the Town [at Sikandra]. It surpasses in magnificence all those of the *Grand Signiors*, but the fairest of all, is that which *Cha-Gehan* [Shah Jahan] Erected in honour of one of his Wives called *Tadge-Mehal* [Mumtaz Mahal], whom he tenderly loved, and whose death had almost cost him his life...



Chapter 6

Language, Literature and Education

- A. Languages
- B. Education
- C. Palm leaf manuscripts

A. LANGUAGES

1. Father Thomas Stephens in a letter to his brother in October 1583¹

There are many languages used in these countries. Their speech is not without charm; in composition it resembles Latin and Greek; phrases and constructions are worthy of our respect. The letters signify syllables, and they have as many shapes as there are possible combinations of consonants with vowels.

2. Indostan written in Nagari, Edward Terry²

For the language of this empire, I meane the vulgar, it is called Indostan; a smooth tongue, and easie to be pronounced, which they write as wee to the right hand [reference to Hindi or Gujarati, written in the *nagari* characters]. The learned tongues are Persian and Arabian, which they write backward, as the Hebrewes, to the left.

3. Fr. Henry Henriques, first European to prepare a Tamil grammar, on his progress in 1566³

...the *arte* had been perfected more this year than it was: I am convinced that, if I am sent some colleagues who for a whole year would do nothing other study it, they would be able at the end of that year to hear confessions.

4. The Malabar language, Philipp Baldaeus⁴

The *Malabars* write upon the leaves of the wild palm-trees with iron pencils; their letters are very antient, and distinguished into, (1) *Short or*

running letters; (2) Long ones; (3) Vowels; (4) Consonants; (5) Diphthongs; (6) Letters used only in the beginning of a word; (7) Such as are used only in the middle; and (8) Such as are used only in the end;... And seeing that the Malabar letters have hitherto not appeared in publick print, either in *Holland* or *Germany*, it will not be amiss to alledge the reasons thereof, and to shew that this language is no less worth our care now-a-days, than the *Hebrew*, *Chaldean*, *Arabian*, *Persian*, *Samaritan*, and other languages.

5. The language of Brahmins, J. Ovington⁵

...the Bramins, who are deriv'd Bramon, who (they say) was one of the first Men that inhabited the World, have a Language used among them, but very difficult to be attain'd, which several of themselves therefore understand not. It is the Learned Language among them, called the *Sanscreet*, and is the same with them as Latin is with us. In this the Records of their Nation, the Mysteries of their Theology, the Books of their Religion and Philosophy, and the Fables of their Priests, are writ.

B. EDUCATION

1. Pathashalas in Goa run by Brahmins before Portuguese advent, *Oriente Conquistado*⁶

They are entitled as Xenens [Brahmins], that is, masters, because in Koncan they alone teach other Brahmins to read, write and count. [*Pathashalas* were closed by Royal order of March 8, 1546 and replaced by *Escolas Paroquiais*].

2. On medical education offered to Hindu physicians in India, *Breve Relacao das Escrituras dos Gentios da India Oriental*⁷

All the opinions of the Gentios are found in their books (Vaidia-Xastra) which are used in schools where many students learn and come to the land of the Portuguese to be examined by the *Fisico-mor* (Chief Medical Officer), who is a European. Several times I heard him say that the Brahmins called Pandits treat patients much better than the Europeans who practise medicine in India.

3. A village school, learning by rote, Pietro Della Valle⁸

...I entertain'd myself in the Porch of the Temple beholding little boys learning Arithmetick after a strange manner, which I will here relate. They were four, and having all taken the same lesson from the Master, in order to get that same by heart and repeat likewise their former lessons and not forget

them, one of them singing musically with a certain continu'd tone, (which hath the force of making deep impression in the memory) recited part of the lesson; as, for example, "One by its self makes one;" and whilst he was thus speaking he writ down the same number, not with any kind of Pen, nor on Paper, but (not to spend Paper in vain) with his finger on the ground, the pavement being for that purpose strew'd all over with very fine sand; after the first had writ what he sung, all the rest sung and writ down the same thing together. Then the first boy sung and writ down another part of the lesson; as, for example, "Two by its self make two," which all the rest repeated in the same manner, and so forward in order. When the pavement was full of figures they put them out with the hand, and, if need were, strew'd it with new sand from a little heap which they had before them wherewith to write further. And thus they did as long as the exercise, continu'd; in which manner likewise, they told me, they learnt to read and write without spoiling Paper, Pens, or Ink, which certainly is a prety way. I ask'd them, if they happen'd to forget, or be mistaken in any part of the lesson, who corrected and taught them? they being all Scholars without the assistance of any Master; they answer'd me and said true, that it was not possible for all four of them to forget, or mistake in the same part, and that thus they exercis'd together, to the end that if one happen'd to be out the others might correct him. Indeed a prety, easie and secure way of learning.

4. Jai Singh's College at Banaras, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier⁹

Adjoining this great pagoda, on the side which faces the setting sun at midsummer, there is a house which serves as a college which the Raja Jai Singh, the most powerful of the idolatrous princes in the Empire of the Great Mogul, has founded for the education of the youth of good families. I saw the children of the Prince, who were being educated there by several Brahmans, who taught them to read and write in a language which is reserved to the priests of the idols (Sanskrit), and is very different from that spoken by the people....

5. Education in Banaras, Athens of India, Francois Bernier¹⁰

The town of *Benares*, seated on the *Ganges*, in a beautiful situation, and in the midst of an extremely fine and rich country, may be considered the general school of the *Gentiles*. It is the Athens of India, whither resort the *Brahmens* and other devotees; who are the only persons who apply their minds to study. The town contains no colleges or regular classes, as in our universities, but resembles rather the schools of the ancients; the masters being dispersed over different parts of the town in private houses, and principally in the gardens of the suburbs, which the rich merchants permit them to occupy. Some of these masters have four disciples, others six or seven, and the most eminent may

have twelve or fifteen; but this is the largest number. It is usual for the pupils to remain ten or twelve years under their respective preceptors, during which time the work of instruction proceeds but slowly; for the generality of them are of an indolent disposition, owing, in a great measure, to their diet and the heat of the country. Feeling no spirit of emulation, and entertaining no hope that honours or emolument may be the reward of extra-ordinary attainments, as with us, the scholars pursue the studies slowly, and without much to distract their attention, while eating their *kichery*, a mingled mess of vegetables supplied to them by the care of rich merchants of the place.

The first thing taught is the *Sanscrit*, a language known only to the *Pendets* [pandits], and totally different from that which is ordinarily spoken in *Hindoustan*. It is of the *Sanscrit* that Father *Kirker* [Father Kircher, author of *China Illustrata* which contains the alphabet and elements of Sanskrit explained in Latin] has published an alphabet, which he received from Father *Roa*. The name signifies 'pure language;' and because the *Gentiles* believe that the four sacred books given to them by God, through the medium of *Brahma*, were originally published in *Sanscrit*, they call it *the holy and divine language*. They pretend that it is as ancient as *Brahma* himself, whose age they reckon by *leques* [lakhs], or hundreds of thousands of years, but I could not rely upon this marvellous age. That it is extremely old, however, it is impossible to deny, the books of their religion, which are of unquestionable antiquity, being all written in *Sanscrit*. It has also its authors on philosophy, works on medicine written in verse, and many other kinds of books, with which a large hall at *Benares* is entirely filled.

When they have acquired a knowledge of *Sanscrit* which to them is difficult, because without a really good grammar, they generally study the *Purane* [Puranas], which is an abridgment and interpretation of the *Beths*; those books being of great bulk, at least if they were the *Beths* which were shown to me at *Benares*. They are so scarce that my *Agah*, notwithstanding all his diligence, has not succeeded in purchasing a copy. The *Gentiles* indeed conceal them with much care, lest they should fall into the hands of the *Mahometans*, and be burnt, as frequently has happened.

After the *Purane*, some of the students apply their minds to philosophy, wherein they certainly make very little progress. I have already intimated that they are of a slow and indolent temper, and strangers to the excitement which the possibility of advancement in an honourable profession produces among the members of *European* universities.

C. MANUSCRIPTS

1. Paper books, J. Ovington¹¹

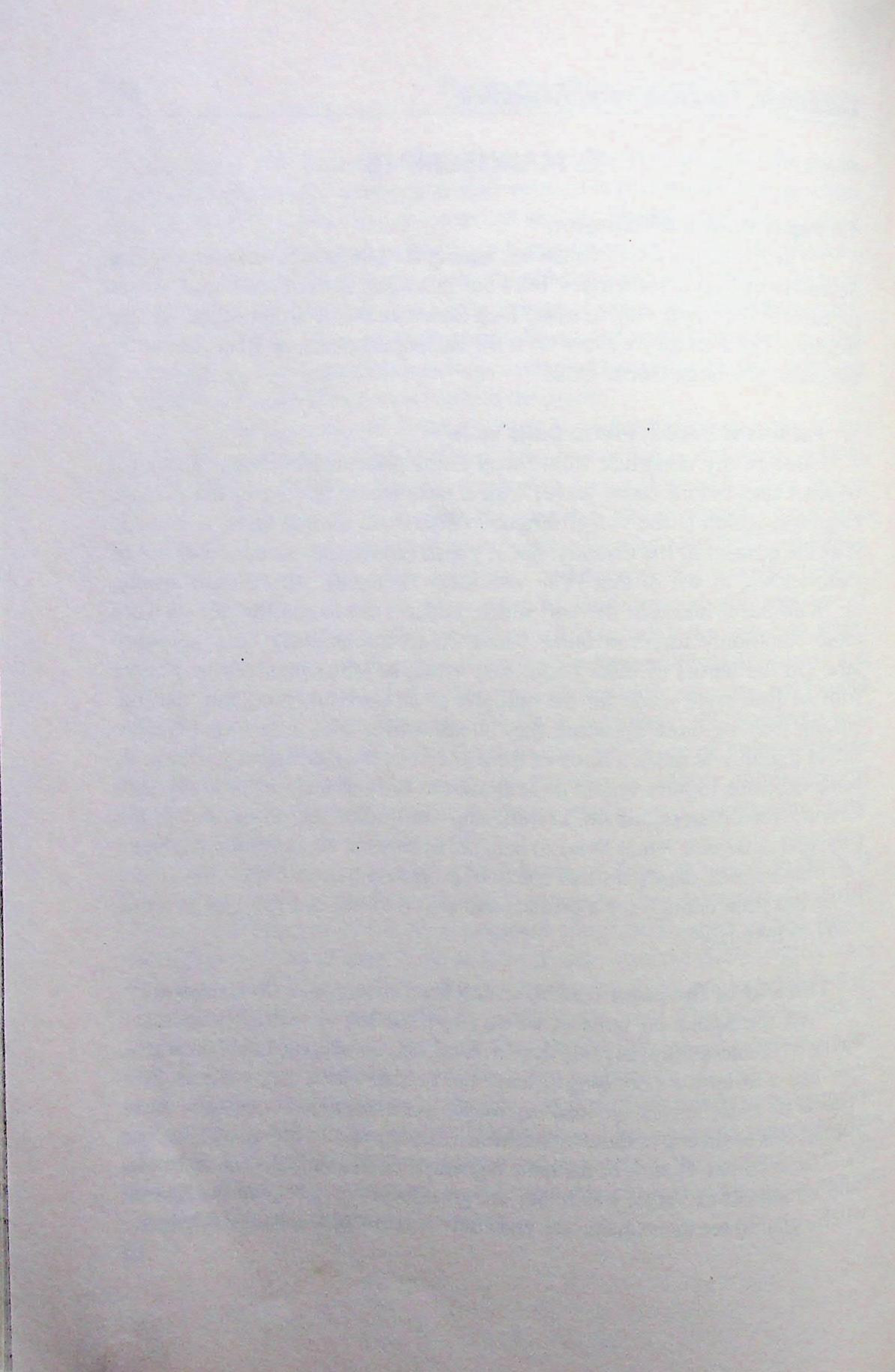
The Paper-Books, in vulgar use among the Inhabitants of *India*, are long Schrowls of Paper, sometimes Ten Foot in length, and a Foot broad, sowed together at the upper end, as many long Sheets as the occasion of the Writing requires. The Pen they write with is the ancient *Calamus*, or Reed, about the thickness of a large Goose Quill.

2. Palm-leaf books, Pietro Della Valle¹²

Before my departure from *Ikkeri* I was presented by *Vitula Sinay* (of whom I had before taken leave) with a little Book, written in the *Canara* language, which is the vulgar tongue in *Ikkeri* and all that State. It is made after the custom of the Country, not of paper, (which they seldom use) but of Palm-leaves, to wit of that Palm which the *Portugals* call *Palmum brama*, i.e., *Wild-palm*, and is of that sort which produces the Indian Nut; for such are those commonly found in *India*, where Palms that produce Dates are very rare. On the leaves of these Palms they write, or rather ingrave, the Letters with an Iron style made for the purpose, of an uncouth form; and, that the writing may be more apparent, they streak it over with a coal, and tye the leaves together to make a Book of them after a manner sufficiently strange. I, being desirous to have one of these Books, to carry as a curiosity to my own Country for ornament of my Library, and not finding any to be sold in the City, had entreated *Vitula Sinay* to help me to one, but he, not finding anyone vendible therein, caus'd a small one to be purposely transcrib'd for me, (there being not time enough for a greater) and sent it to me as a gift just as I was ready to take Horse.

3. The leaf of the palm-tree on which men write, Jean de Thevenot¹³

All the *Malabars* write as we do (from the left to the right) upon the leaves of Palmeras-Bravas [the palmyra palm], and for making their Characters, they use a Stiletto a Foot long at least; the Letters which they write to their Friends on these leaves, are made up round, like a roll of Ribbons; they make their Books of several of these leaves, which they file upon a String, and enclose them betwixt two Boards of the same bigness; they have many Ancient Books (and all almost in Verse) which they are great lovers of. I believe the Reader will be glad to see their Characters, and I have hereto subjoyned the Alphabet... □



Chapter 7

Religion and philosophy

- A. Cosmology and Symbology
- B. Philosophy
- C. Transmigration of souls
- D. Unanimity in matters of faith
- E. No interest in conversion
- F. Yogis and Vratis

A. COSMOLOGY AND SYMBOLOGY

1. The Hindu Trinity, birth of Manu, Reverend Henry Lord¹

That Bremaw [Brahma] therefore might have power to make the Creatures, hee indued him with the Abilities of Creation and production. Secondly, that Vistney [Vishnu] might preserve the Creatures, the Lord gave all things into his power, that might tend to the preservation of those that Bremaw should make... Lastly, that Ruddery [Rudra] might bee a fit Executioner of Gods Justice, God gave into his possession whatsoever might tend to the destruction of living Creatures...

...Bremaw consulting with himselfe, how he might fulfill the charge imposed upon him, grew extraordinarily afflicted in his body, the strangenesse of which anguish vexing him in every part, boaded some alteration or unexpected event; when loe such travaille as happeneth to women in labour seazed him, and a certain tumour and swelling of his body withall, according to the suddaine ripenesse of the burthen within, distended his bowels more and more, and gave newer and greater extremities to him in this Agony, till the burthen (though Bremaw farre exceeded the stature of common men) made two ruptures, the one on the right side, the other on the left; when behold two Twinnes, the one male the other female, to wit, Man and Woman did betray themselves to the world in full growth and perfect stature...

2. Parashakti and Brahma, Vishnu, Rudra, Niccolao Manucci²

There was a woman called Paracceti (Parasakti) – that is ‘Superior Power’ and ‘Most Excellent’. This woman had three children. The first, so they say, had five heads and is called Brahma – that is, ‘Knowledge.’ To him she granted power over all things visible and invisible. The name of the second is Vishnu; to him she gave the power of preserving all that his brother created. The third is called Rutrim (Rudram); of him, too, it is said that he has five heads, and that his mother granted him power of destroying and dispelling all that his brother should do or create. They follow this up by saying the woman married her own sons. But as they are never clear in their beliefs they split off here into five different opinions.

Some say that the mother of these three she who is called Parachety (Parasakti), is the First Cause and the Veritable God; others that it is the eldest son, Brahma, who is First Cause; others – and these are the most numerous – that it is the second son, Vishnu who is alone God and the First Cause; others assert it is the third son who is God. Finally, the last group, to reconcile this diversity of opinions, say that all three jointly are the First Cause and Veritable God. They also assert that none of them by himself nor the three jointly can be God, for whatever is human like other men could never be God. What they say to this effect seems reasonable enough; but they hardly ever adhere long to these views. For through the number of changes made by them in their discourse, they are unable to carry on an argument in form.

3. Missionaries and the Hindu Trinity, Francois Bernier³

I have conversed with European missionaries who thought that the *Gentiles* have some idea of the mystery of the *Trinity*, and maintained that the *Beths* state in direct terms that the three beings, though three persons, are one God. This is a subject on which I have frequently heard the *Pendets* [pandits] dilate, but they explain themselves so obscurely that I never could clearly comprehend their opinion. I have heard some of them say that the beings in question are in reality three very perfect creatures, whom they call *Deutas* [devatas], without being able, however, properly to explain what they mean by this word *Deuta*, like our ancient idolaters, who could never, in my opinion, explain what they meant by the names *Genii* and *Numina*, which were probably equivalent to the *Deuta* of the *Indians*. I have also discoursed with other *Pendets* distinguished for learning, who said that these three beings are really one and the same God, considered under three different characters, as the creator, upholder, and destroyer of all things; but they said nothing of three distinct persons in one only God.

I was acquainted with the Reverend Father *Roa* [Father Heinrich Roth, attached to the Goa Mission, who studied Sanskrit and Hindu religion in which

he was regarded the authority in his time], a Jesuit, a German by birth, and missionary at *Agra*, who had made great proficiency in the study of *Sanskrit*. He assured me that the books of the *Gentiles* not only state that there is one God in three persons, but that the second person has been nine times embodied in flesh [avatar]...

4. Agreement on one Supreme God, Abraham Roger⁴

[Despite differences, all sects recognise] a sovereign God who is absolute and unique.

5. Hindu belief in the essence of God, Niccolao Manucci⁵

There is not an individual among them who denies that there is a God; still; they have so many different views in what they say of God that they are incompetent to find the truth. Some say that water is God, and they style this 'the infallible science'; others, that God is a spiritual substance widely diffused. Then shortly afterwards, with hardly any discussion, they will tell you that it is the air which is God, and there is none other. But as they have no fixity in their belief, they will next tell you briefly, after setting forth the above statements as infallible, that the sun is God; that it has created, and still creates – that it preserves and destroys all things in this world.

It is in this last belief that the greater number of the heathen of India live, never failing on the rise of that luminary to prostrate themselves before it, and to yield it homage and adoration; and this they do once more when they go to bed.

There are those who think more of their stomach than of anything else. They worship cooked rice as their god, and as a sign of their veneration never fail before eating it to offer to it their humblest homage. These are the people who have made the definition that there is but the one God, who is called *Parama Bruma* (*Parama Brahma*), which means 'Superior Knowledge,' or 'Most Excellent.' They say of *Parama Brahma*, that he is the letter O [OM]; and they believe that when they breathe and pronounce the letter O they fail not at that juncture to enter into glory. For it is then, they say, that the soul of such a person comes out by the crown of his head and passes with the velocity of an arrow into the centre of the sun, where it takes its position amidst heavenly glory. They hold that any-one who dies while doing this act is a true martyr.

In addition to this *Parama Brahma* there are, they say, three hundred and thirty millions of gods. The king of them they call *Vendyrem* (*Devendram*) – that is, Lord of the Gods...

6. Hindu beliefs on the nature of divinity, Francois Bernier⁶

I then tried them on the nature of their *Deutas*, but their explanation was very confused. These Gods consist, they said, of three kinds, good, bad, and indifferent. Some of the learned believe that the *Deutas* are composed of fire, others that they are formed of light, and many are of opinion that they are *Biapek* [Vyapaka, all-pervading]; a word of which I could obtain no clearer explication than that God is *Biapek*, that our soul is *Biapek*, and that whatever is *Biapek* is incorruptible and independent of time and place. There are *Pendets* again who, according to my learned host and his companions, pretend that *Deutas* are only portions of the divinity; and lastly, others consider them as certain species of distinct divinities, dispersed over the surface of the globe.

B. PHILOSOPHY

1. Same terms as studied in Rome, Roberto de Nobili⁷

We image that these people are ignorant, but I assure you they are not. I am actually reading one of their books in which I learn philosophy anew almost in the same terms as I studied it in Rome, though of course, their philosophy is fundamentally different from ours.

2. On the Vedas, Abraham Roger⁸

The first treats of the first cause, of the first matter, of the angels, of souls, of the reward of the good and the punishment of the bad, of the generation of creatures, and their corruption, what are sins, those that may be forgiven, who may do it, and wherefor. The second treats of the Regents to whom they ascribe power over all things. The third part is entirely moral, which exhorts to virtue and obliges to the hatred of the contrary. The fourth part treats of the ceremonies of the temple, of offerings and of festivals, but this fourth part cannot be any longer found, as it had long been lost.

3. Six schools of philosophy, Francois Bernier⁹

Among the philosophers who have flourished in *Hindoustan* six bear a great name; and from these have sprung the six sects [Nyaya founded by Gautama, Vaisesika by Kanada, Sankhya by Kapila, Yoga by Patanjali, Mimansa by Jaimini and Vedanta by Badarayana], which cause much jealousy and dispute, the *Pendets* of each pretending that the doctrines of their particular sect are the soundest, and most in conformity to the *Beths*. A seventh sect has arisen, called *Baute* [Buddha] which again is the parent of twelve others; but this sect is not so considerable as the former: its adherents are despised and hated, censured as irreligious and atheistical, and lead a life peculiar to themselves.

C. TRANSMIGRATION OF SOULS

1. Souls of vile men enter bodies of beasts, Edward Terry¹⁰

Those most tender hearted idolaters are called Banians; who hold Pithagoras [his philosophy] as a prime article of their faith. They thinke that the soules of the best men and women, when their bodies let them out of prison, take their repose in kine, which in their opinion are the best of all creatures. So the soules of the wicked goe into viler beasts; as the soules of gluttons and drunkards into swine; the soules of the voluptuous and incontinent into monkies and apes; the soules of the furious, cruell, and revengefull into lyons, tygers, and wolves; the soules of the envious into serpents; and so into other creatures according to their qualitie and disposition, successively from one to another of the same kinde, *ad infinitum*; by consequence beleeving the immortalitie of the world. So that there is not a silly flie but, if they may bee credited, carries about some soules (haply they thinke of light women); and will not be perswaded out of these grosse opinions, so incorrigible are their sottish errours; and therefore will not deprive the most offensive creatures of their life (not snakes, that will kill them), saying it is their nature to doe harme: how that they have reason to shunne, not libertie to destroy them.

2. Belief in afterlife, Francisco Pelsaert¹¹

They imagine or believe that, if they have lived well in this world, the soul, directly the breath has left the body, flies to another man or child of equal or higher rank, and is born again; but if a man has not lived well, the soul passes to a beast – bird, worm, fish, evil or good animal – according to the appointed punishment. This is the reason why they will kill no animal, so as not to trouble or disturb the soul within, which would have to journey to some other animal, for they say: Who knows but the soul of my father, mother, sister, or children who may have died, may for their sins be in that animal?

3. Transmigration of souls, Francois Bernier¹²

I remember that I also questioned them on the nature of the *Lengue-cherire* [belief in the transmigration of the soul], which some of their authours admit; but I could elicit no more from them than what I had long before learnt from our *Pendet*; namely, that the seeds of plants, of trees, and of animals do not receive a new creation; that they have existed, scattered abroad and intermixed with other matter, from the first creation of the world; and that they are nothing more or less, not only in potentiality, as it is called, but in reality, than plants, trees and animals entirely perfect, but so minute that their separate parts only become visible when being brought to their proper place, and there receiving nourishment they develop and increase; so that the seed

of an apple or pear-tree is a *Lengue-cherire*, a small apple or pear-tree, perfect in all its essential parts; and the seed of a horse, of an elephant, or of a man is a *Lengue-cherire*, a small horse, a small elephant or a small man, which requires only life and nourishment in order to its visibly assuming its proper form.

4. Holding cow's tail, one can cross the river between this life and the next, Francois Bernier¹³

The *Gentiles* believe in a doctrine similar to that of the *Pythagoreans* with regard to the transmigration of souls, and hold it illegal to kill or eat any animal; an exception being made, however, in favour of a few of the second tribe, provided the flesh eaten be not that of the cow or peacock. For these two animals they feel a peculiar respect, particularly for the cow, imagining that it is by holding to a cow's tail they are to cross the river which separates this life from the next. Possibly their ancient legislators saw the shepherds of *Egypt* in a similar manner pass the river *Nile*, holding with the left hand the tail of a buffalo or ox, and carrying in the right a stick for the guidance of the animal; or this superior regard for the cow may more probably be owing to her extraordinary usefulness, as being the animal which supplies them with milk and butter (a considerable part of their aliment), and which may be considered the source of husbandry, consequently the preserver of life itself.

5. Metem-psychosis and Pythagoras, Jean de Thevenot¹⁴

The *Bramens* believe the *Metempsychosis* or *Transmigration* of Souls into New Bodies, more or less noble, according to the merit of their Actions which they have done in their Life-time. And many of the other Castes follow that Opinion of *Pythagoras* [there is no reason to believe that Indians borrowed the doctrine of metempsychosis from Pythagoras]; They believe that every Soul must thus make many Transmigrations, but they determine not the number; and therefore there are some who kill no Beast, and never kindle Fire nor light Candle, for fear some Butterflie should burn it self thereat: It being possible (say they) that the Soul of a Butterflie may have lodged in the Body of a Man; and they have the same Sentiment of other Animals. In prospect of saving living Creatures, they often sollicite the *Mogul* Governours, to forbid Fishing on certain Festival days; and sometimes that prohibition is procured by Presents. They would willingly also hinder the killing of Cows, but they can never obtain that. The *Mahometans* will needs eat Flesh and that of the Cow is the best of all the gross Meats of the *Indies*.

D. UNANIMITY ON MATTERS OF FAITH

1. Basic beliefs common, Pietro Della Valle¹⁵

In the substantial points of Religion all agree together; all believe the Transmigration of Souls, which according to their merits and demerits (as they think) are sent by God into other bodies, either of Animals more or less clean, and of more or less painful life, or else of men more or less noble and handsome, and more or less pure of Race, wherein they place not a little of their vain superstition; accounting all other Nations and Religions besides themselves unclean, and some more then others, according as they more or less differ from their Customs. All equally believe that there is a Paradise in Heaven with God, but that thereinto go onely the Souls of their own Nation, more pure and without any sin, who have liv'd piously in this world; or in case they have sin'd, after divers Transmigrations into various bodies of Animals and Men, having by often returning into the world undergone many pains, they are at length purg'd, and at last dye in the body of some man of Indian and noble Race, as the Brachmans, who amongst them are held the noblest and purest; because their employment is nothing else but the Divine Worship, the service of Temples and Learning, and because they observe their own Religion with more rigor then any others.

2. Differences due to diversity of conditions, Pietro Della Valle¹⁶

...it appears that in the substance of Religion and what is most important all the Races of the Indians agree together, and differ onely perhaps through the necessity which is caus'd by the diversity of humane conditions in certain Rites and Ceremonies, particularly of eating more or less indistinctly.

3. No exclusive religious community, Jean de Thevenot¹⁷

...I would have it observed, that in all the *Indies* there is no religious Community amongst the Gentiles, belonging particularly to one Caste or Tribe: For Example, There is not any, whereinto none are admitted but *Bramens* or *Raspoutes*; if there be a convent of *Sogues* any where, the Community will consist of *Bramens*, *Raspoutes*, *Comris*, *Banians* and other Gentiles; and it is the same in a convent of *Vartias*, or a company of *Faquires*.

E. NO INTEREST IN CONVERSION

1. To you your religion, to me mine, Francois Bernier¹⁸

'We pretend not,' they replied, [Hindus talking to Bernier] "that our law is of universal application. God intended it only for us, and this is the reason

why we cannot receive a foreigner into our religion. We do not even say that yours is a false religion: it may be adapted to your wants and circumstances, God having, no doubt, appointed many different ways of going to heaven." I found it impossible to convince them that the Christian faith was designed for the whole earth, and theirs was mere fable and gross fabrication.

2. Believe God has set a path for every one, Jean de Thevenot¹⁹

...they believe that every Man may be saved in his Religion and Sect, provided he exactly follow the way which God hath set before him, and that he will be damned if he take another Course: They make no doubt but that their Religion is the first of all Religions; that it was Established in the days of *Adam*, and preserved in *Noah*: They believe Heaven and Hell, but they affirm that none shall enter there before the Universal Judgment.

3. Influence of Hindu theory of *maya* on Dara and Sujah, Francois Bernier²⁰

I shall explain to you the Mysticism of a Great *Sect* which has latterly made great noise in *Hindoustan*, inasmuch as certain *Pendets* or *Gentile Doctors* had instilled it into the minds of *Dara* and *Sultan Sujah*, the elder sons of *Chah-Jehan*.

You are doubtless acquainted with the doctrine of many of the ancient philosophers concerning that great life-giving principle of the world, of which they argue that we and all living creatures are so many parts: if we carefully examine the writings of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, we shall probably discover that they inclined towards this opinion. This is the almost universal doctrine of the *Gentile Pendets* of the *Indies*, and it is this same doctrine which is held by the sect of the *Soufys* and the greater part of the learned men of *Persia* at the present day, and which is set forth in Persian poetry in very exalted and emphatic language, in their *Goul-tchen-raz* [Gulshan Raz, composed in 1317 A.D., on the Sufi doctrines propounded by Amir Syed Hosaini], or Garden of Mysteries. This was also the opinion of *Flud* [Robert Flud, 1574-1637, healer by 'faith natural'] whom our great *Gassendy* has so ably refuted; and it is similar to the doctrines by which most of our alchymists have been hopelessly led astray. Now these *Sectaries* or *Indou Pendets*, so to speak, push the incongruities in question further than all these philosophers, and pretend that God, or that supreme being whom they call *Achar* [immovable, unchangeable] has not only produced life from his own substance, but also generally everything material or corporeal in the universe, and that this production is not formed simply after the manner of efficient causes, but as a spider which produces a web from its own navel, and withdraws it at pleasure. The Creation then, say these visionary doctors, is nothing more than an extraction or

extension of the individual substance of *God*, of those filaments which He draws from his own bowels; and, in like manner, destruction is merely the recalling of that divine substance and filaments into Himself; so that the last day of the world, which they call *maperle* or *pralea* [maha-pralaya or pralaya], and in which they believe every being will be annihilated, will be the general recalling of those filaments which God had before drawn forth from Himself. There is, therefore, say they, nothing real or substantial in that which we think we see, hear or smell, taste or touch; the whole of this world is, as it were, an illusory dream, inasmuch as all that variety which appears to our outward senses is but one only and the same thing, which is God Himself; in the same manner as all those different numbers, of ten, twenty, a hundred, a thousand, etc., are but the frequent repetition of the same unit. But ask them some reason for this idea; beg them to explain how this extraction and reception of substance occurs, or to account for that apparent variety; or how it is that God not being corporeal but *biapek*, as they allow, and incorruptible, He can be thus divided into so many portions of body and soul, they will answer you only with some fine similes: That *God* is as an immense ocean in which many vessels of water are in continual motion; let these vessels go where they will, they always remain in the same ocean, in the same water; and if they should break, the water they contain would then be united to the whole, to that ocean of which they were but parts. Or they will tell you that it is with *God* as with the light, which is the same everywhere, but causes the objects on which it falls to assume a hundred different appearances, according to the various colours or forms of the glasses through which it passes...

F. YOGIS AND VRATIS

1. Jogis at Ahmadabad, Pietro Della Valle²¹

...we beheld from that height the little River call'd *Sabermeti* [Sabarmati], which runs on that side under the walls without the City. Upon the bank thereof, stood expos'd to the Sun many *Gioghi* [jogis] of more austere lives, namely such as are not onely naked like those above describ'd, but go all sprinkled with ashes, and paint their bodies and faces with a whitish colour upon black, which they do with a certain stone that is reduced into powder like Lime. Their Beards and Hair they wear long, untrim'd, rudely involv'd, and sometimes erected like horns. Painted they are often, or rather daub'd with sundry colours and hideous figures; so that they seem so many Devils, like those represented in our Comedies. The ashes wherewith they sprinkle their bodies are the ashes of burnt Carkasses; and this to the end they may be continually mindful of death. A great crew of these, with their Chief, or Leader,

(who conducts them with an extravagant banner in his Hand, made of many shreds of several colours, and whom they all religiously obey) sat by the River's side in a round form, as their custom is; and in the field there were many people, who came some to walk, and others to wash themselves; the Pagan Indians holding their Rivers in great Veneration, and being not a little superstitious in bathing themselves therein. From the same place I beheld a little Chappel built upon two small figures of *Mahadeu*, not upright, but lying along upon the ground, and carv'd in basse relief, where also were Lamps burning, and people making their offerings.

2. **Yogis outside temple at Cambay, proficient in arts of divination, magic, enchantment and secrets of herbs, Pietro Della Valle²²**

Without the Gate of these Temples I beheld, sitting upon the ground in a circle, another Troop of those naked *Gioghi*, having their bodies smear'd with Ashes, Earth and Colours, like those I had seen upon the River of *Ahmedabad*; they made a ring about their *Archimandrita*, or Leader, who was held in such Veneration not onely by the Religious of their Sect, but also by the other secular *Indians*, for Reputation of Holiness, that I saw many grave persons go and make low Reverence to him, kiss his Hands, and stand in an humble posture before him to hear some sentence; and He with great gravity, or rather with a strange scorn of all worldly things, hypocritically made as if he scarce deign'd to speak and answer those that came to honour him. These are not such by Descent, but by Choice, as our Religious Orders are. They go naked, most of them with their bodies painted and smear'd, as is above mention'd; yet some of them are onely naked, with the rest of their bodies smooth, and onely their Fore-heads dy'd with Sanders and some red, yellow, or white colour; which is also imitated by many secular persons, out of superstition and gallantry. They live upon Almes, despising clothes and all other worldly things. They marry not, but make severe profession of Chastity, at least in appearance; for in secret 'tis known many of them commit as many debaucheries as they can. They live in society under the obedience of their Superior, and wander about the world without having any settled abode. Their Habitations are the Fields, the Streets, the Porches, the Courts of Temples, and Trees, especially under those where any Idol is worshipt by them; and they undergo with incredible patience day and night no less the rigor of the Air than the excessive heat of the Sun, which in these sultry Countries is a thing sufficiently to be admir'd. They have spiritual Exercises after their way, and also some exercise of Learning, but (by what I gather from a Book of theirs translated into *Persian*, and intitl'd, *Damerdbigiaska* [not identified], and, as the Translator saith, a rare piece) both their exercises of wit and their Learning consist onely in Arts of Divination, Secrets of Herbs, and other natural things, and also in Magick and Inchantments, whereunto they are much addicted, and

boast of doing great wonders. I include their spiritual exercises herein because, according to the aforesaid Book, they think that by the means of those exercises, Prayers, Fastings and the like superstitious things, they come to Revelations; which indeed are nothing else but correspondence with the Devil, who appears to and deludes them in sundry shapes, fore-warning them sometimes of things to come...

And of the Sciences of the *Gioghi*, and their spiritual exercises, especially of a curious way, rather superstitious than natural, of Divining by the breathing of a Man, wherein they have indeed many curious and subtle observations, which I upon tryal have found true, if any would know more, I refer him to the Book above mention'd, which I intend to carry with me for a Rarity into Italy; and, if I shall find convenience, I shall one day gratifie the Curious with a sight of it in a Translation.

3. A strange penance in Bengal, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier²³

I shall relate also an example of a strange kind of penance which I saw when sailing up the Ganges on the 12th of May 1666. A clean place on the margin of the river had been prepared, in which one of these poor idolaters was condemned to place himself on the ground many times during the day, supported only on his hands and feet, and to kiss the ground three times before rising, without daring to touch it with the rest of his body. When he rose it was necessary for him to do so on the left foot, with the right foot in the air, and every morning during a whole month, before drinking or eating, he was obliged to place himself in this position fifty times in succession, and kiss the ground one hundred and fifty times. I was told that the Brahmans had inflicted this penance on him for having allowed a cow to die in his house, not having taken it to the margin of the water according to custom, in order that it might be bathed while dying.

4. Jain ascetics pull out hair one by one, Niccolao Manucci²⁴

There is another class of persons called Nostiguer [? Nastika, atheist, who doubts the divine authority of the Vedas], who not only may not be looked upon when eating, but may not hear the sound of any human voice while so occupied. So far is this carried that, when eating they cause a copper vessel to be beaten hard at their door. Men of this caste do not allow their beard to be touched, either by the razor or by scissors, but it is dragged out, hair by hair with a small pincers. The first time that the pulling out of the hair of the head and beard is begun, if the patient betrays no sign of pain, he is accepted as a firm disciple; if, on the contrary, he weeps, cries, or makes faces, they say he is too tender and thereby unworthy to be admitted into the confraternity.

5. Austerities of Jogis, Francois Bernier²⁵

Among the vast number, and endless variety of *Fakires*, or *Derviches*, and *Holy Men*, or *Gentile hypocrites* of the *Indies*, many live in a sort of convent, governed by superiors, where vows of chastity, poverty, and submission are made. So strange is the life led by these votaries that I doubt whether my description of it will be credited. I allude particularly to the people called *Jauguis* [Jogis], a name which signifies 'united to God.' Numbers are seen, day and night, seated or lying on ashes entirely naked; frequently under the large trees near *talabs*, or tanks of water, or in the galleries round the *Deuras*, or idol temples. Some have hair hanging down to the calf of the leg, twisted and entangled into knots, like the coat of our shaggy dogs, or rather like the hair of those afflicted with that *Polish* disease, which we call *la Plie*. I have seen several who hold one, and some who hold both arms, perpetually lifted up above the head; the nails of their hands being twisted, and longer than half my little finger, with which I measured them. Their arms are as small and thin as the arms of persons who die in a decline, because in so forced and unnatural a position they receive not sufficient nourishment; nor can they be lowered so as to supply the mouth with food, the muscles having become contracted, and the articulations dry and stiff. Novices wait upon these fanatics, and pay them the utmost respect, as persons endowed with extraordinary sanctity. No *Fury* in the infernal regions can be conceived more horrible than the *Jauguis* with their naked and black skin, long hair, spindle arms, long twisted nails, and fixed in the posture which I have mentioned...

Sarmad executed for refusal to wear clothes

I was for a long time disgusted with a celebrated *Fakire*, named *Sarmet*, who paraded the streets of *Dehli* as naked as when he came into the world. He despised equally the promises and the threats of *Aureng-Zebe*, and underwent at length the punishment of decapitation from his obstinate refusal to put on wearing apparel.

Long pilgrimages undertaken laden with iron chains

Several of these *Fakires* undertake long pilgrimages, not only naked, but laden with heavy iron chains, such as are put about the legs of elephants. I have seen others who in consequence of a particular vow stood upright, during seven or eight days, without once sitting or lying down, and without any other support than might be afforded by leaning forward against a cord for a few hours in the night; their legs in the meantime were swollen to the size of their thighs. Others again I have observed standing steadily, whole hours together, upon their hands, the head down, and the feet in the air. I might proceed to enumerate various other positions in which these unhappy men place their body, many of them so

difficult and painful that they could not be imitated by our tumblers; and all this, let it be recollected, is performed from an assumed feeling of piety, of which there is not so much as the shadow in any part of the *Indies*...

Some peculiarly enlightened

Some of the *Fakires* enjoy the reputation of being peculiarly enlightened saints, perfect *Jauguis*, and really united to God. These are supposed to have entirely renounced the world, and like our hermits they live a secluded life in a remote garden, without ever visiting a town. When food is brought to them, they receive it: if none be offered to them it is concluded that the holy men can live without food, that they subsist by the favour of God, vouchsafed on account of previous long fasts and other religious mortifications. Frequently these pious *Jauguis* are absorbed in profound meditation. It is pretended, and one of the favoured saints himself assured me, that their souls are often rapt in an ecstasy of several hours' duration; that their external senses lose their functions; that the *Jauguis* are blessed with a sight of God...

Powers of yogis, alchemists

I have now to give an account of certain *Fakires* totally different from the *Saints* just described, but who also are extraordinary personages. They almost continually perambulate the country, make light of everything, affect to live without care, and to be possessed of most important secrets. The people imagine that these favoured beings are well acquainted with the art of making gold, and that they can prepare mercury in so admirable a manner that a grain or two swallowed every morning must restore a diseased body to vigorous health, and so strengthen the stomach that it may feed with avidity, and digest with ease...

Other Fakirs dressed in white of modest demeanour

But there are *Fakires* of a much more comely appearance than those whom we have been considering, and their lives and devotion seem less extravagant. They walk the streets barefooted and bareheaded, girt with a scarf which hangs down to the knee, and wearing a white cloth which passes under the right arm and goes over the left shoulder in the form of a mantle, but they are without any under garment: their persons, however, are always well washed, and they appear cleanly in every respect. In general they walk two and two with a very modest demeanour, holding in one hand a small and fair threefooted earthen pot with two handles: they do not beg from shop to shop like many other *Fakires*, but enter freely into the houses of the *Gentiles*, where they meet with a hearty welcome and an hospitable reception, their presence being esteemed a blessing to the family.

6. Yogis at Surat, Manuel Godinho²⁶

...The yogis are the most strict among their religious, and the ancients called them gymnosophists, but I would more appropriately call them devil's martyrs or even living devils. Always on the move from place to place, like gypsies, some with very worn out and mended clothing, others altogether naked and still others with a piece of cloth around those parts which one naturally feels most embarrassed about, and the rest of the body bare...

They move about covered with ash from head to feet, including the eyes and the mouth, and with ash from cowdung, and the cow also gives them water with which from time to time they wash themselves. They have neither shelter nor bed and sleep on the ground, in the open. Not only do they shun all delicacy and pleasure out of eating and dressing but also live very ascetically, to such an extent that one is filled with wonder and moved to compassion. Some go about naked with heavy iron chains around their necks and bodies like hairshirts; others bury themselves alive by the roadside leaving only a breathing hole just large enough to fit a tube, through which they are fed *canja*, that is, rice-water. Others turn themselves into dwellers on pillars, after climbing atop columns or logs, and do not come down until death. Others, on the major festival days at their temples, hang themselves from pulleys on very sharp steel hooks fitted into their bare backs and remain hanging in mid-air while they merrily chant verses to their idols.

Hands held aloft for ten years

I saw some of these yogis at Surat and among these there was one who would not lower his hands, having held them aloft continuously for ten years, and the nerves and the joints having already become so stiff, it would not have been possible for him to get them down even if he so wished. His hands were clenched into a fist, like someone making a gesture of contempt, and his nails were so outgrown that they went around the back of his hands and were like strings that tied them. But for the hair from his head covering a part of his face, the rest of the body was bare. I saw another who had only one arm upraised and yet another who never sat down either by day or night, under any circumstances, and relaxed himself mostly by placing his arms on a rope stretched across from window to window and by shifting his weight from one side to another. There were others who carried loads of shells and large branches of gall-nuts around their necks. I was keen to see how the yogis with the upraised arms ate and slept, and witnessed some boys among their followers placing food in their mouths and that, at night, the banias brought bagfuls of cowdung with which they started a fire and spent the night sitting around it.

Yogis venerated as living saints

The yogis are highly respected by the Hindus as they believe them to be the greatest living saints who are doing penance to atone for the great sins of the entire world, and thereby restrain the wrath of God with those arms of theirs uplifted towards heaven. Every evil deed of theirs is condoned in the belief that whoever harms them is excommunicated and loses both his body and soul. Each carries his own horn which he sounds on entering a village to announce that there is a yogi there who has to be fed. If, by an odd chance, the yogi is offended and curses a village because it did not provide him with whatever was necessary, all its inhabitants will go to him in a procession in order to beg his pardon and to request him to withdraw his sentence which they imagine is already affecting them. The yogis are greatly feared, besides being respected, for, if any one of them is aggrieved, two or three thousand of them soon come together to demand satisfaction, as all of them are keen to safeguard the honour of their calling. When they move in this way, in a group, they elect a leader and follow him, in the same manner as the gypsies choose their count. He is invariably the highest ranking among the nobles of the blood, always available amongst them because there is hardly any pagan kingdom which does not boast of a yogi prince and, for many of these it helps as a safeguard against their brothers and even to capture their kingdoms with the help of their colleagues...

Claim knowledge of medicine, have cures for snake bites

All these yogis are very great sorcerers and pride themselves upon their knowledge of medicine although, in fact they are only herbalists. They make what we call snake stones which are the best antidote against any poisonous vermin. They work wonders everyday in India, where the snakes are very poisonous and kill in a few hours, but those who possess such a stone escape. When placed on the bite, the stone immediately adheres to it and does not fall off until it has first sucked up all the poison, of which the stone can later be cleansed by placing it in milk. The yogis also have other green stones which they claim to have the same effect as the other ones, if held in the mouth, but I do not know if it is true in practice. The knowledge of these yogis which was much praised by the ancient writers, who called them *gymnosophists*, which actually means naked philosophers, is now found only in those who, having acquired it and professed it at the European universities, come to the realms of Madurai and Mysore, in the interior of India, where, dressed as true yogis, in order to find greater acceptance and goodwill among the natives, display their knowledge by converting them to the faith of Christ Our Lord, thereby becoming the *gymnosophists* of the souls. The Jesuits

have many such philosophers in those realms [possibly a reference to Fr. Robert de Nobili, 1577-1656 and his colleagues].

7. Naga Sadhus at Magh Mela, Jean de Thevenot²⁷

They are many times to be seen in Troops at *Halabas* [Allahabad], where they Assemble for Celebrating of some Feasts (for which they are obliged to wash themselves in the *Ganges*) and to perform certain Ceremonies. Such of them as do no hurt, and shew signs of Piety are extreamly honoured by the Gentiles; and the Rich think they draw down blessings upon themselves, when they assist those whom they call Penitents...

One may meet with some of them in the Country stark naked with Colours and Trumpets, who ask Charity with Bow and Arrow in hand and when they are the strongest, they leave it not to the discretion of Travellers to give or refuse. These wretches have no consideration even for those that feed them; I have seen some of them in the *Caravans*, who made it their whole business to play tricks, and to molest Travellers, though they had all their subsistence from them. Not long since I was in a *Caravane*, where some of these *Faqirs* were, who took a fancy to suffer no body to sleep: All night long they did nothing but Sing and Preach; and instead of banging them soundly to make them hold their peace (as they ought to have been served) the Company prayed them civilly, but they took it ill; so that they doubled their Cries and Singing, and they who could not Sing, laugh'd and made a mock of the rest of the *Caravane*.

8. Strange penance at Jagannath, Jean de Thevenot²⁸

The Province of *Oulessor* [Orissa], which we call *Bengala*, and which the Idolaters name *Jaganat* because of the famous Idol of the Pagod of *Jaganat* which is there, is Inhabited by Gentiles no less fantastical in point of Religion, than those of *Halabas*; and this one instance may serve for a proof of it. A *Faqir* intending to invent some new spell of Devotion that was never seen before, and which might cost him a great deal of pains, resolved to measure with his Body the whole extent of the *Moguls* Empire, from *Bengala* as far as *Caboul*, which are the limits of it from South East to North West. The pretext he had for so doing, was, that once in his life he might be present at the Feast of *Houly*, which I have already described, and he had a kind of novices to wait upon him and serve him.

The first Action he did when he set out upon his Journey, was to lay himself at full length on the ground upon his belly, and to order that the length of his Body might be marked there; that being done, he rose up, and acquainted his followers with his Design, which was to take a Journey as far as *Caboul*, by lying down and rising up again continually, and to walk no more at a time

but the length of his Body; ordering his Novices to make a mark on the ground at the Crown of his Head, every time he lay down, to the end he might exactly regulate the March he was to make; all was punctually performed on both sides: The *Faquir* made a Cosse and a half a day, that's to say, about three quarters of a League; and they who related the Story, met him a year after his setting out, no farther off than at the utmost bounds of the Province of *Halabas*. In the mean time, he had all imaginable respect shewed him in the places he passed through; and was loaded with Charity, in so much, that he was obliged to distribute the Alms he got amongst the Poor, who in hopes of getting by him, followed him in his Journey.

9. A Convent of *Vartins* [Jains?] at Lahore, Jean de Thevenot²⁹

There is a Convent of Gentiles there, who are called *Vartias*, that have their General, Provincial and other Superiours, they say that it is above Two thousand years since they were founded. They vow Obedience, Chastity and Poverty; they strictly observe their Vows, and when anyone trespasses against them, he is rigorously punished. They have Brothers appointed to beg for all the Convent; they eat but once a day, and change their House every three Months, they have no fixt time for their Noviciat; some perform it in two years, some in three, and there are others who spend four years therein, if the Superior think fit. The main point of their institution is not to do to others what they would not have others do to them; that precept they observe even towards Beasts, for they never kill any, and much more towards Men, seeing if any body beat them, they do not resist, and if they be reviled, they make no answer. They obey the least Signal of their Superior without murmuring, and it is forbidden to them to look a Woman or Maid in the face; they wear nothing on their Bodies but a Cloath to cover their Privy Parts, and they bring it up to their heads to make a kind of a Coif like that of a Woman; they can possess no Money, are prohibited to reserve any thing for tomorrow to eat, and how hungry soever they may be, they patiently wait till their Purveyors bring them the Alms, which are daily given them at the Houses of the Gentiles of their Tribe; they take but little, that they may not be trouble-some to any body, and therefore they receive no more at every place but a handful of Rice, or some other eatable matter, and if more be offered them, they'll refuse it; they take nothing but what is boyled and drest (nothing but what is cooked) for they kindle no Fire in their House, for fear some Flie may burn it self therein; when they have got Charity enough, they return to the Convent, and there mingle all the Rice, Lentils, Milk, Cheese, and other Provisions they have got together. Then an Officer distributes all equally among the *Vartias*, who eat their Portions severally cold or hot, as it is given them, and drink nothing but water.

Vartis eat once a day

They make their meal about noon, which serves them for the whole day; let hunger or thirst press them never so much, they must wait till the same hour next day, before they either eat or drink.

Varti dormitory, Gentile Nuns

The rest of the day they employ in Prayers, and reading of Books; and when the Sun sets, they go to sleep, and never light a Candle. They all lie in the same Chamber, and have no other Bed but the Ground. They cannot of themselves leave the orders after they have once taken the Vows; yet if they commit any fault contrary to their Vows, and especially against that of Chastity, they are expelled, not only the order, but also their tribe. The General, Provincials, and all the Officers change their Convent every four Months their Office is for Life; and when any of them dies, he names to the Religious, him whom he thinks fittest to succeed, and they follow his choice. These *Vartias* have above ten thousand Monasteries in the *Indies*; and some of them are more Austere than others: Nay their [sic] are some who think it enough to worship God in Spirit, and these have no Idols, and will have no Pagod near them. There are also Religious Nuns in some places, who live very exemplarily.



Chapter 8

Religion in Practice

- A. Theory of incarnation**
- B. Importance of image worship**
- C. Some important pilgrimage centres**
- D. Worship at other sites**
- E. Worship of trees and animals**
- F. Ahimsa, love of animals**
- G. Ritual bathing, eclipses**

A. THEORY OF INCARNATION

1. The eighth avatar of Vishnu, Philipp Baldaeus¹

[This avatar] is accounted of the greatest moment above the rest; for...in all the others Vistnum [Vishnu] appeared in the world with some part of his divinity; but in doing this he carried with him the whole substance of it so that he left his place vacant in heaven.

2. Theory explained by pandits, Francois Bernier²

I must observe...that the word 'incarnation'...was new to me, having never seen it used in the same direct sense. Some *Pendets* [pandits] explained their doctrine to me in this manner: formerly God appeared in the forms which are mentioned, and in those forms performed all the wonders which have been related. Other *Pendets* said that the souls of certain great men, whom we are wont to call heroes, had passed into the different bodies spoken of, and that they had become *Deutas* [devtas]; or, to speak in the phraseology of the idolaters of old, they had become powerful Divinities, *Numina*, *Genii*, and *Daemons*; or, if you will, *Spirits* and *Fairies*; for I know not how else to render the word *Deuta*; but this second explanation comes much to the same thing as the first, inasmuch as the *Indous* believe that their souls are constituent parts of the deity.

Other *Pendets* again gave me a more refined interpretation. They said that the incarnations or apparitions mentioned in their books, having a mystic sense, and being intended to explain the various attributes of God, ought not to be understood literally. Some of the most learned of those *Doctors* frankly acknowledged to me that nothing can be conceived more fabulous than all the incarnations, and that they were only the invention of legislators for the sake of retaining the people in some sort of religion. On the supposition that our souls are portions of the deity, a doctrine common to all *Gentiles*, must not (observed the *Pendets*) the reality of those incarnations, instead of being made a mysterious part of religion, be exploded by sound philosophy? For, in respect of our souls, we are God, and therefore it would in fact be ourselves who had imposed upon ourselves a religious worship, and a belief in the transmigration of souls, in paradise, and in hell, – which would be absurd.

3. Tenth incarnation for liberation from Muslim tyranny, Francois Bernier³

The second person in the Trinity [Vishnu] has been, according to them, nine times incarnate in consequence of various evils in the world, from which he delivered mankind. The eighth incarnation was the most remarkable [that of Krishna]; for they say that the world having been enthralled by the power of giants, it was rescued by the second person, incarnated and born of a virgin at midnight, the angels singing in the air, and the skies raining flowers that whole night...

The tenth incarnation, say the *Gentiles*, will have for its object the emancipation of mankind from the tyranny of the *Mahometan*, and it will take place at the time when, according to our calculation, *Antichrist* is to appear; this is however but a popular tradition, not to be found in their sacred books...

4. Celebration of Krishna's killing of Kansa in Kabul, Jean de Thevenot⁴

Those of the same Tribe eat together, and at night they make Bonefires in the Streets. That Feast is Celebrated yearly at the Full Moon in *February*, and ends by the destruction of the Figure of a Giant; against which a little child shoots Arrows, to represent what the People are made to believe; to wit, That God coming into the World under the name of *Cruchman* [Krishna]; he appeared in shape of a Child, that a great Giant that feared to be undone by him, endeavoured to ruin him: But that that Child hit him so dexterously with an Arrow, that he laid him dead upon the ground. These people seem heretofore to have been Christians; but if they have had any Tincture [trace] of it, it is much corrupted by the Fables and strange Tales that have been told them concerning the same, to which they conform their Lives and Religion.

5. Gentile beliefs concerning Rama and Sita, Jean de Thevenot⁵

...the vulgar Opinion of the Gentiles, touching the God Ram, is that he was produced, and came out of the Light, in the same manner as the Fringe of a Belt comes out of that Belt; and if they Assign him a Father whom they call *Dester* [Dasaratha], and a Mother named *Gaoucella* [Kausalya]; that is only for form sake, seeing he was not born: And in that consideration, the *Indians* render him divine Honours in their Pagods, and else where; And when they salute their Friends, they repeat his Name, saying, *Ram, Ram*. Their Adoration consists in joyning their hands, as if they Prayed, letting them fall very low, and then lifting them up again gently to their mouth, and last of all, in raising them over their head. They call *Chita* [Sita] the Wife of *Ram*; and seeing they know what respect Christians bear to the Holy Virgin, they have the boldness to compare that Wife to her; and if they meet with her Image, they take it to be the representation of *Chita*.

B. IMPORTANCE OF IMAGE WORSHIP

1. Discussion in Banaras, Francois Bernier⁶

Finding myself in such excellent company [of some of the most learned pandits], I determined to ascertain their opinion of the adoration of idols. I told them I was leaving the *Indies* scandalised at the prevalence of a worship which outraged common sense, and was totally unworthy such philosophers as I had then the honour of addressing. "We have indeed in our temples" said they, 'a great variety of images, such as that of *Brahma*, of *Mehadeu* [Mahadev], of *Genich* [Ganesh], and of *Gavani* [Bhavani?], who are the principal and the most perfect of the *Deutas*, and we have many others esteemed less perfect. To all these images we pay great honour; prostrating our bodies, and presenting to them, with much ceremony, flowers, rice, scented oil, saffron and other similar articles. Yet do we not believe that these statues are themselves *Brahma* or *Bechen* [Vishnu]; but merely their images and representations. We show them deference only for the sake of the deity whom they represent, and when we pray it is not to the statue, but to that deity. Images are admitted in our temples, because we conceive that prayers are offered up with more devotion where there is something before the eyes that fixes the mind; but in fact we acknowledge that God alone is absolute, that He only is the omnipotent Lord.'

2. Image of the Virgin at Bassein also venerated by Gentiles, Jean de Thevenot⁷

...many Gentiles go to *Bassaim*, a Town belonging to the *Portuguese*, where there is the Image of a Virgin, who is called our Lady of Remedies [the

Church of Nossa Senhora dos Remedios, midway between Bassein and Agasi] and where (they say) Miracles are wrought. When they come to the Church door, they salute it, bowing to the ground; and having taken off their Shoes, and come in, they make many Reverences; they put Oyl into the Lamp that hangs before the Image; burn Wax-Candles, and cast some Money into the Box, if they be able. At first they would have added to this Oblation, Fruits, and the Anointing of their Body, that so they might call it Sacrifice, but the Portuguese hindred them.

C. SOME IMPORTANT PILGRIMAGE CENTRES

1. Seven most sacred sites, Niccolao Manucci⁸

The Hindus assert that in the world there are seven principal places where it is possible to obtain what one has imagined and desired – that is to say, in cases where a person wishes to become emperor or king, wealthy, powerful, or to attain other positions of the same order...

The principal temples referred to above are these – that is to say:

1. The first, Maya [probably Mayapur, near Hardwar], to be found among the mountains of the north.
2. Matura (Mathura), which is near the city of Agra.
3. Caxis (Kashi), which is on the Ganges, in the city of Benares.
4. Canchis (Kanji), in the Karnatik.
5. Evantica, in the mountains of Tartary.
6. Puris (Puri), on the borders of Cochin China.
7. Darahotis (? Gangotri), at the source of the Ganges, as they suppose it to be.

Bands of interested persons make these lengthy pilgrimages, enduring a thousand hardships on the way, only at the end to drown by their own choice, without considering where they are about to take up their abode.

The chief temples destroyed by King Aurangzeb within his kingdom were the following:

1. Maisa (? Mayapur).
2. Matura (Mathura).
3. Caxis (Kashi).
4. Hajudia (Ajudhya), and an infinite number of others; but, not to tire the reader, I do not append their names.

2. Pilgrimages undertaken in large groups, rich finance journey of poor, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier⁹

All the idolaters who are subjects of the Great Mogul and other Princes on

either side of the Ganges at least once in their lives make a pilgrimage to perform their devotions at one of the four pagodas which I have named, and most commonly to that of Jagannath, it being the principal and most considerable of all. The Brahmans and rich people make this pilgrimage more than once, some every four years, others every six or every eight years, when they place the idols of their pagodas in litters and accompany their Brahmans in procession to the pagoda for which they have most reverence; but it is most frequently, as I have said, to that of Jagannath, and also to that of Benares, because both are on the Ganges, the water of which is held in special veneration by them.

These pilgrimages are not made as in Europe, by one or two individual pilgrims, but the people of a town or several villages assemble and travel together in company. The poor who come from afar, sometimes 300 or 400 leagues, with all the savings which they have accumulated for that purpose during their lives, are unable to bear the expenses of the journey, and they are assisted by the rich, who expend very great sums in such alms. Each one travels according to his station and means, some in pallankeens or litters, others in carriages; and the poor, some on foot and others on oxen, the mother carrying her child and the father the cooking utensils.

Gods carried along

The god whom they carry in procession from the place they are leaving, to visit and pay his respects to the great Ram Ram, reposes at full length in a rich pallankeen covered with gold brocade with silver fringes, with a mattress and cushion of the same material under his head, feet, and elbows, as we see in the effigies on our tombs. The Brahmans distribute among the most important persons in the troop fans with handles 7 or 8 feet long, and covered with plates of gold and silver, the fan being at the end in the form of a kiln-shovel of 2 to 3 feet in diameter, and covered with the same brocade as the pallankeens. It is surrounded with peacock feathers, and makes a great current of air; to it bells are sometimes attached to give a kind of music, and there are generally five or six of these fans to drive away the flies from the face of the idol; those who carry them take turns from time to time, like those who carry the pallankeens, so that many may share in this honourable task...

MAJOR TEMPLES

Tirupati

1. “Of the Richness of the Pagode of Tremelle and of the Pomp with which the King of Bisnege visits it,” Gasper Correia¹⁰
I have seen this festival [of the full moon of August] and the fair that is

held on that day, this pagode-house being located in a large field, where people begin to gather with their bundles of goods (*fardagens*) fifteen days in advance, where three or four million people assemble, amongst whom there would be three hundred or four hundred thousand on horse, where one can find all the nations of people in the world, and as many goods as one can name from people's mouths, in which I affirm that all the things in the world, nay in the universe, can be found, and of each thing as much as one is searching for. I will write of only one thing here as the greatest achievement that I can relate, and it is this. When these peoples go to do their adoration at the pagode, they go washed and perfumed with sandal, dressed in their fine clothes, and arrayed with their gold jewellery, and the men shave their heads with a razor, leaving no more than a long, thin, tuft (*guedelha*) of hair on the crown (*moleyra*)...

And since there are so many people, as I have said, there are enough barbers to suffice for them, who are all set apart below some large trees, and they shave one head for only one copper coin which is called *caixa*; and the amount of hair that they amass is such that they fill up the space below the trees and on top of them. An amazing thing! There is a man who buys up this hair from the barbers, and they begin to buy when they begin to shave, and they pay a thousand *pardaos* and at times even more; the buyer then has this hair plaited and made into cords, gross and fine, and wigs for women, and other things, in which he makes much money, and all of it is sold there in the fair...

The eve and the day of the pagode that these people present themselves [for *darshana*], and all night long, no one, be he great or small, can present himself without leaving a coin in offering, and each one gives according to his means, and there are some who put down a thousand *pardaos*, and two thousand and five thousand, for very great lords come there: where in front of the pagode; they make a great pile of gold coins, as large as one can make with ten measures (*moios*) of wheat...

The King of Bisnega also comes to this festival, and he comes as unencumbered (*afforado*) as he can, and he brings along ten thousand horse, and two hundred thousand infantry, and hundred to two hundred women of his own who come in palanquins and litters, locked up with a key, so that no one can see them, and they can see everything through a very small silver netting, and the litter is all gilded and rich on the inside, where they can do what they want, and sleep, or remain sitting...

2. A Jesuit account of Tirupati in 1602¹¹

Trepeti which is a city two leagues from Chandegri, very beautiful and large, and like another Rome for this Gentility, on account of a greatly venerated pagode that is there, where from this entire Orient there gather innumerable

people, who come with great devotion and offerings to visit this demon which they call Permal.

3. A large and sumptuous edifice, jeweller-trader Jacques de Coutre's account of 1611¹²

And from there [Gurramkonda, the Andhra fort that served as a provincial court for the powerful Gobburī Obba Raya, brother-in-law to Venkatapati, the Vijayanagar king] we left for the city of Chandreguiri, where the emperor had his court after the rebellion [1565]. We arrived at this place, which was very lovely and walled just like Belur. It had a castle atop a very high hill, and at its foot was the palace of the emperor, it was a large and sumptuous edifice. At the entry of the door of the city there was a very large statue in stone, a figure of a negr – like those in Angola – which had four arms. The Gentiles call it Primala. He is one of the gods that they adore, and he had a sword in his hand and three women around him. And inside the city, there was another statue, no smaller in size, of an ape: they call him Nanaando, concerning whom they tell great stories made up by these barbarians. He is also adored as one of the gods. He had a very large tail which went entirely around his body, and he was smeared with oil. There was another statue, a large and disproportionate thing, in the shape of a man; only it had the head of an elephant. This one is called by the Gentiles Ganaso. These three monsters: Primala, Nanocato and Ganaso are adored and held to be gods by the Gentiles of all the Orient...

And the city had great suburbs, and it was teeming with people. I was there for five days: and I went alone from there to the diamond mine in a palanquin, for my companion Francisco de Silvera did not wish to go on ahead on account of fear for the thieves who were there, and the great duties that had to be paid along the routes at the customs-houses by persons, even if they did not carry goods. Thus I went on, and promised to advise him of the route so that he could pass with greater security. I left the walls of the city and made my way more than two leagues through its suburbs (*arrabales*) till Tripiti, the city of the pagode which is so called, and it seemed that it was all one city. There I saw an extremely large edifice: it was called the pagode of Tripiti, considered in all the Orient to be the principal and the head of all the pagodes. It had very great revenues which the kings and emperors of the Orient gave it. Besides the revenues, the riches in terms of money and jewels that it has are such, that when the emperor has need of money, he asks for a loan from the pagode with great ceremonies. Then, the chief and head of the Brahmins, who are the sacerdotes who administer that pagode, lend it to him...

I saw inside the edifice an idol made of metal. It had two eyes of silver with some glass inside that reflects like a mirror. It was very richly dressed

with many jewels, amongst which I saw a girdle with diamonds and rubies; and in the middle I saw a diamond which was worth, and which had cost according to what the Brahmins told me, a hundred and twenty thousand pagodas, which is in our coin a little less than two hundred and forty thousand ducats. Besides this idol, I saw many others in the city.

And I saw many other offerings which all the idolatrous kings of the Orient had presented, and they gave many arms, and it was of great pilgrimage (*romeria*). They came there in such numbers that when I was travelling by the roads, I came across over a hundred thousand souls together who came in pilgrimage, each of the families bringing along a small idol: some of silver, others of gold, others made of brass, depending on what they could offer. With many drums, they came with flags, some on horse, others on foot, others sitting on oxen as if they were mules. They had their horns covered with brass, and with many tassels (*borlas*) on the neck. These came from the kingdom of the Decan alone. When I saw them from afar, I thought it was an army on the march. I remained two days in the city of Tripiti solely to see the barbarous festivities that they did every day, and at night with many fireworks. And there was a great number of whores and dancers who danced perpetually before the idol with rare dishonesty, the final purpose of all of which was directed at luxury. And all the riches in the city of Tripiti consisted in nothing save the pagode, for even the residents were rich on account of the great commerce that there was here in pearls, and in all the precious stones.

4. Hindus in their element here, chronicler Antonio Bocarro in 1635¹³

The Gentiles are in their element here, for they worship all the abominations of figures of dogs, cats, monkeys and these are the most common, and of elephants and of cows, and of every type of animal, and the pagodas of all these are so many that there is a very large city, which is Rome to them, only for pagodas, which the Gentiles of this whole Orient arrange to have made as large as possible, and whoever does so is regarded as the more devout and powerful, and however sumptuous they may be they are still dismal and subterranean houses, which shows very well that they are dedicated to the Devil...

5. Very rich temple, Abraham Roger, Dutch Protestant minister resident St. Pulicat in the 1630s and early 1640s¹⁴

Some days' journey from *Paliacatta* is the very famous *Pagode Tripeti*, which has three festivals yearly. One is in September, at which time there is a great confluence therwards from all directions, particularly of the *Soudraes*, or common folk; who all come with gifts. The second, is in December. At

which time one finds for the most part *Bramines* with their gifts. The time of the third festival I have been unable to ascertain. So that since *Tripeti* has so many visits, it must necessarily have many incomes. It is also said that this *Pagode* yearly would have an income of 60, 70, 80, thousand *Pagodas*; all of which results from the gifts, and offerings, that are brought there. Since these *Heathens* do not come there with empty hands, but to discharge by means of gifts the promises they have made to the *Pagode*, on the occasion of recovering their good health, or to give thanks for some other benefit received, so that this *Pagode* has become extremely powerful and rich.

6. Where people shave their hair, Niccolao Manucci¹⁵

In the Karnatik, inland six leagues from Madras, is a famous and ancient temple called *Tripeti*. Here assemble many people from all parts of India. The shrine is very wealthy from the large and frequent offerings presented, and owing to the large revenue derived from it, Aurangzeb has to this time postponed its destruction. But it seems to me the reason for not doing so was his fear of renewed rebellions difficult of suppression.

This temple is on a rather high hill, the ascent of which occupies two hours. There are various shelters in which there are many hermits, and hollows occupied by Brahman priests... Impelled by their barbarous religion all the devout go there, and every year there is a festival for fifteen days. A large number of people assemble, and take up their quarters in a village at the foot of the hill. Others shelter themselves in tents or camp under trees...

On this pilgrimage people must shave their heads and faces in order to be cleansed of their sins. These innocent folk give credit to all that the deceiving priests assert, and, in addition, offer them presents. Many also do penance by climbing the hill on all fours, or on their knees, others at full length, rolling their body over and over. Others carry up water to wash the temple *et cetera*...

In addition to the above, there are public women, dancers, who are required to appear several times a week to sing and dance before the idol. For this purpose they have some allowances, from which they are under obligation not to be absent. I have seen Hindus who, on festival days, through religious fervour, climbed up a mast where there was a wheel bearing two iron hooks, and fixing these into their loins at the back, hung down, and praising the idol, swung round three times, making various gestures with their hands and feet. Such persons are held by Hindus in great esteem.

JAGANNATH

1. Magnificence of the temple, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier¹⁶

Jagannath is the name of one of the mouths of the Ganges, upon which

the great pagoda is built, where the Great Brahman, that is to say the High Priest of the idolaters, resides. The form of the choir or interior of this pagoda is as follows: it is similar, in proportion, to all the others, which are built upon the same model, in the form of a cross. The great idol on the altar of the choir has two diamonds for his eyes and a pendant from his neck which reaches to the waist, and the smallest of these diamonds weighs about 40 carats; he has bracelets on his arms, some being of pearls and some of rubies, and this magnificent idol is called Kesora [Kesava Rai]...

Bejewelled deities

I come now to a more detailed description of the idol on the altar of the pagoda of Jagannath. It is covered from the neck to the base with a grand mantle which hangs on the altar, and this mantle is of gold or silver brocade according to the nature of the ceremonies. At first this idol had neither feet nor hands, and this is how this fact is explained. After one of their prophets was taken up into heaven, when they were all plunged in tears and lamentation at losing him, God sent to them from heaven an angel like the prophet, whom they treated with great honour and respect. But while the angel was engaged in making the idol, impatience seized upon them, and they removed it to the pagoda, although, as yet, it was unprovided with feet and hands. But as it was deformed, they made hands for it out of the small pearls which we call 'pearls by the ounce' [seed pearls]. As for the feet, they cannot be seen, being concealed under the mantle. There is nothing left uncovered save the hands and face; the head and body are made of sandalwood. Round the elevated dome in which the idol is seated, from the base up to the top, there are many niches containing other images, the majority of which represent hideous monsters made of stone of various colours. On each side of this great pagoda there are others, much smaller, where the pilgrims make their petty offerings, and those who, on account of sickness or in their business, have made a vow to some god, take there an image or semblance of the object in memory of the benefit which they believe they have received. This idol is anointed every day with scented oils which make him quite black. He has on his right hand his sister who is called Sotora [Subhadra], who is also represented standing and clothed; and on his left his brother, also clothed, who is called Balbader [Balbhadra]. In front of the great idol, somewhat to the left, his wife is to be seen, who is called Kemui [Kamini], she is of massive gold, and represented standing, the three others are made of sandalwood...

Revenues of temple

...The revenues of this great pagoda are sufficient to feed 15,000 or 20,000 pilgrims daily, and these numbers are often to be found there, the pagoda

being the object of the highest devotion by the Indians, who visit it from all quarters...

Large numbers of pilgrims fed daily

The great wealth of pagoda (for it supports upwards of 20,000 cows) depends upon the amount of the offerings made every day by the incredible multitude of people who arrive from all parts. But these alms are not altogether at the discretion of those who give them, as they are fixed by the High Priest, who before granting permission to the pilgrims to shave themselves, to bathe in the Ganges, and do the other things necessary in fulfilment of their vows, taxes each one according to his means of which he is very exactly informed. Thus he receives enormous sums, from which he himself derives no profit, all being expended on the feeding of the poor and the support of the pagoda. The Grand Brahman distributes each day to the pilgrims whatever food is required, consisting of butter, milk, rice, and flour; but to the poor, who are in want of utensils to cook their food with, it is given ready cooked. It is a surprising thing, and well worthy of notice, to observe how the food is distributed to the poor people who have no pots. In the morning the rice is cooked in earthen pots of different sizes, and when the hour has come when the poor pilgrims come for food, if, for example, there are five, the chief Brahman orders another Brahman to take a pot full of cooked rice, which he lets fall, and the pot is broken into five equal parts, of which each pilgrim takes one, and likewise in proportion, more or less, according to the number of people who present themselves to receive their shares. The Brahmins never cook twice in the same earthen pot, but frequently use copper pots, and they have for plates certain leaves larger than our walnut leaves, which are stitched together. They use, however, a kind of dish about a foot in diameter to melt butter, in which they dip the rice with their fingers when eating, and a small ladle for the melted butter, which is drunk as we drink a glass of Spanish wine after a repast.

2. The annual rath yatra, Francois Bernier¹⁷

In the town of *Jagannat*, situated on the Gulf of *Bengale*, and containing the famous temple of the idol of that name, a certain annual festival is held, which continues, if my memory fail not, for the space of eight or nine days. At this festival is collected an incredible concourse of people, as was the case anciently at the temple of *Hammon*, and as happens at present in the city of *Meca*. The number, I am told, sometimes exceeds one hundred and fifty thousand. A superb wooden machine is constructed, such as I have seen in several other parts of the *Indies*, with I know not how many grotesque figures, nearly resembling our monsters which we see depicted with two heads, being half man and half beast, gigantic and horrible heads, satyrs, apes, and devils.

This machine is set on fourteen or sixteen wheels like those of a guncarriage, and drawn or pushed along by the united exertions of fifty or sixty persons. The idol, *Jagannat*, placed conspicuously in the middle, richly attired, and gorgeously adorned, is thus conveyed from one temple to another.

The first day on which this idol is formally exhibited in the temple, the crowd is so immense, and the press so violent, that some of the pilgrims, fatigued and worn out in consequence of their long journey, are squeezed to death: the surrounding throng give them a thousand benedictions, and consider them highly favoured to die on such a holy occasion after travelling so great a distance. And while the chariot of hellish triumph pursues its solemn march, persons are found (it is no fiction which I recount) so blindly credulous and so full of wild notions as to throw themselves upon the ground in the way of its ponderous wheels, which pass over and crush to atoms the bodies of the wretched fanatics without exciting the horror or surprise of the spectators. No deed, according to their estimation, is so heroic or meritorious as this self-devotion: the victims believe that *Jagannat* will receive them as children, and recall them to life in a state of happiness and dignity.

BANARAS

Among the most famous, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier¹⁸

I come to the pagoda of Benares, which, after that of Jagannath, is the most famous in all India, and of equal sanctity, being built on the margin of the Ganges, and in the town of which it bears the name. The most remarkable thing about it is that from the door of the pagoda to the river there is a descent by stone steps, where there are at intervals platforms and small, rather dark, chambers, some of which serve as dwellings for the Brahmans, and others as kitchens where they prepare their food. For after the idolaters have bathed, and have gone to pray and make their offerings in the pagoda, they prepare their food without anyone but themselves touching it, through the fear they have lest anyone who approached it might be unclean. But above all things, they ardently desire to drink the water of the Ganges, because, as soon as they have drunk it, they believe, as I have said, that they are cleansed from all their sins...

The building, like all the other pagodas, is in the figure of a cross, having its four arms equal. In the middle a lofty dome rises like a kind of tower with many sides terminating in a point, and at the end of each arm of the cross another tower rises, which can be ascended from outside. Before reaching the top there are many niches and several balconies, which project to intercept the fresh air; and all over the tower there are rudely executed figures in relief of various kinds of animals. Under this great dome, and exactly in the middle

of the pagoda, there is an altar like a table, of 7 to 8 feet in length, and 5 to 6 wide, with two steps in front, which serve as a footstool, and this footstool is covered with a beautiful tapestry, sometimes of silk and sometimes of gold and silk, according to the solemnity of the rite which is being celebrated.

The altar is covered with gold or silver brocade, or some beautiful painted cloth. From outside the pagoda this altar faces you with the idols upon it; for the women and girls must salute it from the outside, as, save only those of a certain tribe, they are not allowed to enter the pagoda. Among the idols on the great altar one stands 5 or 6 feet in height; neither the arms, legs, nor trunk are seen, only the head and neck being visible; all the remainder of the body, down to the altar, is covered by a robe which increases in width below. Sometimes on its neck there is a rich chain of gold, rubies, pearls, or emeralds. This idol has been made in honour and after the likeness of Bainmadou [Vishnu], formerly a great and holy personage among them, whose name they often have on their lips. On the right side of the altar there is also the figure of an animal, or rather of a chimera, seeing that it represents in part an elephant, in part a horse, and in part a mule. It is of massive gold, and is called Garou [Garuda], no person being allowed to approach it but the Brahmins. It is said to be the resemblance of the animal which this holy personage rode upon when he was in the world, and that he made long journeys on it, going about to see if the people were doing their duty and not injuring anyone. At the entrance of the pagoda, between the principal door and the great altar, there is to the left a small altar upon which an idol made of black marble is seated, with the legs crossed, and about two feet high. When I was there, near it, on the left, sat a small boy, son of the chief priest, and all the people who came there threw him pieces of taffeta, or brocade like handkerchiefs, with which he wiped the idol and then returned them to the owners. Others threw him chains made of beads like small nuts, with a naturally sweet scent, which these idolaters wear on their necks and use to repeat their prayers over each bead. Others threw chains of coral or yellow amber, others fruits and flowers. Finally, with everything which is thrown to the chief Brahman's child he wipes the idol and makes him kiss it, and afterwards, as I have just said, returns it to the people. This idol is called Morli Ram [Muralidhara], that is to say, the God Morli, brother of the idol on the great altar.

MATHURA

A grand temple, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier¹⁹

At Cheki-sera there is one of the grandest pagodas in India with an asylum for apes, both for those commonly in the place and those from the neighbouring country, where the Banians provide them with food. This pagoda is called

Mathura; formerly it was held in much greater veneration by the idolaters than it is at present, the reason being that the Jumna then flowed at the foot of the pagoda, and the Banians, both those of the place and those who came from afar in pilgrimage to perform their devotions there, were able to bathe in the river before entering the pagoda, and after coming out of it before preparing to eat, which they must not do without bathing; besides, they believe that by bathing in running water their sins are more effectually removed. But for some years back the river has taken a northerly course, and flows at a good cross distance from the pagoda; this is the reason why so many pilgrims do not visit it now.

AYODHYA

1. Brahmins keep records of pilgrims, William Finch²⁰

Ajodhya]...a citie of ancient note, and seate of a Potan king, now much ruined; the castle built four hundred yeeres agoe. Heere are also the ruines of Ranichand[s] [Rama Chandra, the reference is to the mound known as Ramkot, fort of Rama] castle and houses, which the Indians acknowledg[e] for the great God, saying that he tooke flesh upon him to see the tamasha [show or spectacle] of the world. In these ruines remayne certaine Bramenes, who record the names of all such Indians as wash themselves in the river running thereby; which custome, they say, hath continued four lackes of yeeres (which is three hundred ninetie four thousand and five hundred yeeres before the worlds creation). Some two miles on the further side of the river is a cave of his with a narrow entrance, but so spacious and full of turnings within that a man may well loose himselfe there, if he take no better heed; where it is thought his ashes were buried. Hither resort many from all parts of India, which carry from hence in remembrance certaine graines of rice as blacke as gun-powder, which they say have beene reserved ever since. Out of the ruines of this castle is yet much gold trayed. Here is great trade, and such abundance of Indian asse-horne [rhinoceros horn] that they make hereof bucklers and divers sorts of drinking cups. There are of these hornes, all the Indians affirme, some rare of great price, no jewell comparable, some esteeming them the right unicorns horne.

2. Girls' pagoda at Ayodhya, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier²¹

In this country there is another pagoda, well-built and very ancient, and ornamented within and without with many figures, which are representations of girls and women only. Men never go there to worship, and on that account it is called the girls' pagoda. It has an alter in the middle like the other pagodas, and upon this altar there is an idol of massive gold about 4 feet high, which represents a girl, standing, whom they call Ram-Marion [actually it is Ram

Narayan, the defied Rama of Ayodhya]. She has on her right an image of a child, standing, made of massive silver, and nearly 2 feet in height, and it is said that this girl living a holy life, the infant was taken to her by the Brahmins to learn her creed and how to live well; but at the end of three or four years, during which the child had dwelt with the girl, it became so clever and accomplished that all the Rajas and Princes of the country wished for it, and, at last, one of them carried it off one night and it has not since been seen. This idol has on her left, at the base of the altar, another idol representing an old man, whom they say had been the servant of Ram-Marion and the child, and the Brahmins pay great reverence to this idol. They come to it only once a year for worship, and it is necessary for them to arrive on a prescribed day, which is the first day of the moon in November, because the pagoda is only opened at full moon. During the fifteen days which intervene all the pilgrims, both men and women, must fast at times, and bathe three times every day, without leaving a single hair on their bodies, all being easily removed by the use of a certain earth with which they rub themselves [use of lime and arsenic and depilatories].

RAMESHWARAM

1. Coconuts offered, Giovanni Careri²²

He [a Portuguese gentleman] told me further, That near the Island of Ceylon, there is another small Island call'd *Ramanacor*, with a *Pagod* of the same Name; at the Entrance whereof is a Trough of black Stone, and in it a Statue of Metal, with the Eyes made of Rubies; and that the *Gentils* break over it Coconuts full of Water; and lay Figs there, to Eat them afterwards, as if they were Sanctify'd, and Drink that Water, as Holy. Within the further part of this *Pagod*, is another which they open once a Year; and the they adore a Brazen Idol call'd *Lingon*, which is a very lewd Figure, the Parts of Man and Woman appearing join'd together. Some *Gentils* wear it hanging about their Necks, out of Devotion, as the God of Nature.

2. Even desecrated temples full of devotees, Niccolao Manucci²³

In this realm of India, although King Aurangzeb destroyed numerous temples, there does not thereby fail to be many left at different places, both in his empire and in the territories subject to the tributary princes. All of them are thronged with worshippers; even those that are destroyed are still venerated by the Hindus and visited for the offering of alms.

D. WORSHIP AT OTHER SITES

1. Hindus pray frequently, Jan Huygen van Linschoten²⁴

They doe keepe and obserue their Ceremonies and Superstitions with great deuotion, for they neuer goe forth without praying when they trauell by the way. They haue on every Hill, Cliffe, Hole, or Denne their *Pagodes* and Idols in most deuiliſh and deformed shapes cut and hewed out of the stones and rockes, with their Furnaces hard by them, and a Cisterne not farre from them, which is alwaies full of water, and euery one that passeth by, washeth their feet therein, and so fall downe before their Idoll, some setting before him for an offering Fruits, Rice, Egges, Hennes, &c., as their deuotions serue, and then commeth the Bramene their Priest and taketh it away and eateth it, making the common people beleue that the Pagoda hath eaten it.

2. Worship by king of Calicut, Ludovico di Varthema²⁵

...And the king of Calicut keeps this Deumo [the image he worships, Devil, according to Varthema] in his chapel in his palace, in this wise; this chapel is two paces wide in each of the four sides, and three paces high, with doors covered with devils carved in relief. In the midst of this chapel there is a devil made of metal, placed in a seat also made of metal. The said devil has a crown made like that of the papal kingdom, with three crowns; it has also four horns and four teeth with a very large mouth, nose, and most terrible eyes. The hands are made like those of a flesh-hook and the large feet like those of a cock; so that he is a fearful object to behold. All the pictures around the said chapel are those of devils, and on each side of it there is a Sathanas seated in a seat, which seat is placed in a flame of fire, wherein are a great number of souls, of the length of half a finger and a finger of the hand. And the said Sathanas holds a soul in his mouth with the right hand, and with the other seizes a soul by the waist.

3. Worship at Banaras, Ralph Fitch²⁶

Here...they have their images standing, which be evill favoured, made of stone and wood, some like lions, leopards, and monkeis; some like men and women, and peacocks; and some like the devil with foure armes and four hands...And in divers places there standeth a kind of image...they call Ada...This Ada hath foure hands with clawes...They have in some of these houses their idoles standing. Many of them are blacke and have clawes of brasse with long nayles, and some ride upon peacocks...

4. Beautiful temples in Merta, William Finch²⁷

...three faire Pagodes richly wrought with inlayd works, adorned richly with jewels..

5. Nagarkot temple, where people cut their tongue for offering, William Finch²⁸

Negercoat [Nagarkot, now Kangra], 80 c. from Lahor and as much from Syrinan [Sirhind]; in which city is a famous pagod called Je or Durga [the temple of Bajreswari Devi], unto which worlds of people resort out of all parts of India. It is a small short idoll of stone, cut in forme of a man; much is consumed in offerings to him, in which some also are reported to cut off a piece of their tongue and, throwing it at the idols feet, have found it whole the next day (able to lye, I am afraid; to serve the father of lyes and lyers, how ever); yea, some out of impious piety heere sacrifice themselves, cutting their throats and presently recovering. The holyer the man, the sooner forsooth he is healed; some (more grievous sinners) remaining halfe a day in paine before the divell will attend their cure. Hither they resort to crave children, to enquire of money hidden by their parents or lost by themselves; which, having made their offerings, by dreames in the night receive answer, not one departing discontented. They report this pagan deity to have beene a woman (if a holy virgin may have that name); yea, that shee still lives (the divell shee doth) but will not shew her selfe. Divers Moores also resort to this peer [Persian *pir*, a saint].

6. An exquisite [Jain?] temple at Cambay, idols carry message of philosophy, Pietro Della Valle²⁹

...we saw in the City a Temple of Idols, one of the best which the Gentiles have in *Cambaia*. The form of it is a perfect square, with walls round about supporting a flat roof, which is also upheld in the middle by four pillars dispos'd in a square too; within which, upon the little space remaining, is advanc'd somewhat higher then the roof, and yet of a square form, a kind of *Cupoletta*, or little Chappel. In the principal part of this Temple stand in three great *Nieches* so many great Idols, made of white Marble, and naked, (as the Indians paint all their Idols). They are in a sitting posture, yet after the manner of the East, as they use to sit upon the ground with the Legs gather'd under; but they sit in a place somewhat higher then the floare, as it were upon a large Pedestal. These *Nieches* are inclos'd with doors made with lattices, that so the Idols may be seen without opening them; but they are open'd upon occasion for any that are minded to go in; they were so for us, but we entred not, because the *Nieches* are so small that we saw everything well enough from the doors.

The principal Idol in this Temple is that which stands in the middle *Nieche*, call'd *Mahavir*, from whom the Temple is denominated. Who this

Mahavir is, and whether he be all one with *Mahadeu*, as I have some suspicion, I do not yet know...

Before the Idol without the *Nieche* hung a Bell, (as 'tis the custom in all their Temples) which... all those who come to make their prayers ring at their first entrance. Within this and the other *Nieches* on the sides were one or two lighted Candles. In the other sides of the Temple, something higher then the pavement, were in the wall certain little *Nieches*, in each of which stood an Idolet, or little Idol, some in the shape of Men, others of Women. One there was which had many Arms on a side, and many Faces, and this they said was call'd *Brachma* [Brahma], one of their chief false Deities. Another had the head of an Elephant, and was call'd *Ganescio*: They say, he is the Son of *Mahadeu*, who finding him one day with Parvetti his wife, but his own Mother, and not knowing who he was, kill'd him out of jealousie, cutting off his Head; but afterwards understanding that he was his own Son, he repented him of his error, and resolv'd to bring him to life again. Wherefore meeting with an Elephant, (as he had purpos'd to do with what he first happen'd upon) he cut off his Head, and plac'd it on his dead Son's Shoulders. Whereupon *Ganescio* reviv'd, and thenceforward liv'd immortal with an Elephant's Head. But behold another delusion! One there is with the Head, I know not whether of a Tyger or Lyon, probably 'tis that *Narosinha* [Narasimha] which I formerly writ that I saw in *Combru*, in the maritime parts of *Persia*.

Some of these Idolets sat upon Sundry Animals, as Tygers and the like, and even upon Rats; of which things the foolish and ignorant Indians relate ridiculous stories. But I doubt not that, under the veil of these Fables, their ancient Sages (most parsimonious of the Sciences, as all Barbarians ever were) have hid from the vulgar many secrets, either of Natural or Moral Philosophy, and perhaps also of History: and I hold for certain that all these so monstrous figures have secretly some more rational significations, though express'd in this uncouth manner; as we know in ancient time among the Gentiles of our Countries there was in the figures of quadrifronted *Janus*, of Jupiter Ammon with the Head of a Ram, of *Anubis* with the Head of a Dog, and many other extravagances, not onely of the *Grecians* and *Ægyptians*, but also of the *Romans*.

7. Famous Mahadev temple at Ahmadabad attracts huge crowds, Gymnosopists, Pietro Della Valle³⁰

...we went to see a famous Temple of *Mahadeu*, to which there is hourly a great concourse of people, and the street which leads to it is always full, not onely of goers and comers to the Temple, but also of beggars who stand here and there asking Alms of those that pass by. The building of this Temple is small, the Entrance narrow and very low, almost under ground; for you descend

by many steps, and you would think you were rather going into a *Grotto* than into a Temple, and hence there is always a great crowd there. On high hung a great number of Bells, which are rung every moment with great noise by those who come to worship.

Ancient gymnosophists

Within the Temple continually stand many naked *Gioghi* [jogis], having only their privities (not very well) cover'd with a cloth; they wear long Hair dishevel'd, dying their Fore-heads with spots of Sanders [sandal], Saffron, and other colours suitable to their superstitious Ceremonies. The rest of their bodies is clean and smooth, without any tincture or impurity; which I mention as a difference from some other *Gioghi*, whose Bodies are all smear'd with colours and ashes as I shall relate hereafter. There is no doubt but these are the ancient Gymnosophists so famous in the world, and, in short, those very Sophists who then went naked and exercis'd great patience in sufferings, to whom *Alexander* the Great sent *Onesicritus* to consult with them, as *Strabo* reports from the testimony of the same *Onesicritus*.

8. Temple of Vratis [Jains?] at Cambay, Pietro Della Valle³¹

...we saw in one of the Suburbs or Hamlets near the City, call'd *Causari*, a Temple of the *Gentiles*, peradventure the goodliest that I have seen, with certain *Cupola*'s, and high Balconies of tolerable Architecture, but no great model. This Temple belongs to the Race of *Indians* who shave their heads (a thing unusual to all others, who wear long hair like Women), and such are called *Vertia*. The Idol in it sate on high over an Altar at the upper end, in a Place somewhat dark, ascended by stairs, with lamps always burning before it. When I went in there was a Man at his Devotions, and burning Perfumes before the Idol.

9. Brahma temple at Nagra, formerly chief city of kingdom of Cambay, Pietro Della Valle³²

...in the Temple dedicated to Brahma in the Town of Nagra, which is little considerable for building, but in great Veneration for ancient Religion, there are many Idols of white Marble. The biggest is the Chief and hath the worthiest place; in the middle is the Statue *Brahma*, or *Pythagoras*, with many Arms and Faces, as they, ordinarily pourtray him, namely three Faces, for I could not see whether there were a fourth or more behind; 'tis naked, with a long picked Beard, but ill cut as well as the rest of the figure, which for its bigness hath a very great Belly, I know not whether through the Artificers fault, who seem to have been little skilful, or else because the *Indians*, as I have also heard of the people of Sumatra, account it a great Beauty and

perfection to have a great Belly. This figure of *Brahma* stands upright, and at his Feet two other less carv'd figures, which, as they, say, are his two sons, *Sunnet* and *Sunnatan*. On each side of *Brahma* stand likewise two Statues of Women, somewhat less than *Brahma* himself, and they call them his Wives, *Savetri* and *Gavetri*. On the left side of this narrow Temple, stand two other figures of the same bigness, being two naked Men with long Beards, whom they pretend to have been two religious persons, I know not whether Doctors, or Disciples of *Brahma* or *Pythagoras*; one is call'd *Chescuer*; the other *Ciavan de Chescuer*. On the same side downwards are many other Idolets, as one with an Elephants Head, and divers others formerly by me mention'd. All which Idols are serv'd, ador'd, perfum'd, offer'd to and washed every day as for delight (for the *Indians* account it delight to wash often) by the *Brachmans*, who assist at their service with much diligence.

10. Hanuman temple at ghat near Garsopa, Pietro Della Valle³³

... a Temple of *Hamant*, who is one of those two *Scimiones* [Italian for apes] who were employ'd by *Ramo* for recovering his Wife *Sita*, as their Fables relate; for which good work and their other miracles the *Indians* adore them. Here I saw his Statue in the Temple with burning lights before it, and a consecrated Silver Hand hung up by some devout person, perhaps cur'd of some evil of his Hands.

Below this place where we lodg'd, amongst the little Valleys of the Hill, is a fair and large Cistern, or Receptacle of water, which falls thereinto from a River descending from the Mountain, the over-plus running into the lower Valleys. At night we heard Musick at the Gate of the above-mention'd Temple, divers barbarous Instruments sounding, and amongst the rest certain great Horns of Metal, fashion'd almost into a semicircle. I ask'd the reason of this Festival, and they told me the Idol was to go presently, accompany'd with a great number of Men and Women, in pilgrimage to a place of their devotion near *San Tome*, a moneth's journey and more; and that it was to be carry'd in a *Palanchino*, as the custom is, and in procession with sundry sounds and songs, almost in the same manner as amongst us Christians the Bodies, or Images, of Saints are carry'd in procession when any Community, or Fraternity, go in pilgrimage to *Loreto*, or *Rome*, in the Holy year.

11. Temple at Honelli, Ikkeri, Pietro Della Valle³⁴

... we ended this day's journey in the onely considerable and populous Town we had hitherto met, which is call'd *Ahineli* [Honelli]. We lodg'd in the Porches of a Temple of Idols, low after their manner, with very large caves supported by great Posts; the Pavement rais'd high and dung'd, but not lately; the walls white, sprinkled in the corners and ends with a sort of rosy pigment,

ill colour'd; for so is their custom, always in their Religious Structures. The Idol was call'd *Virena Deuru* [lingam], the latter of which words signifies *God*, or rather *Lord*, being attributed also to Men of quality; he stood at the upper end in a dark place with Candles before him; of what figure he was I could not see well, by reason of the darkness, but they told me 'twas a Man. In the body of the Temple were many other wooden Statues of less Idols, plac'd about in several places, as 'twere for ornament; some of which were figures of their Gods, others not of Gods, but for ornament, of several shapes...

Of Gods there was a *Brahma* with five Heads and three Arms on a side, sitting astride a Peacock, which in their Language they call *Nau Brahma*, that is the *Peacock of Brahma*; another God was call'd *Naraina*, with four Arms on a side: another with an Elephant's Head and two Hands to an Arm, whom they call *Ganesu*, and others *Bacra-tundo*, that is *Round-mouth*; for one and the same God hath divers names. Another, call'd *Fuena*, had the shape of a Man, holding a naked Sword in his right Hand and a Buckler in his left. Another had a Man under his Feet, upon whose Head he trampled; and so many others of various sorts.

I observ'd that all these Idols had the same cover of the Head high, with many peaks, all ending in one long peak, a strange and majestic Diadem not used now in *India*; it might have been of wreath'd Linnen, or Gold, or other solid matter; wherefore I imagine that it is a very ancient covering, at this day disus'd; unless haply it be some ensign of Divinity, which I rather think, because I remember to have seen at *Rome* almost the same Diadems upon the Heads of some *Ægyptian* Statues, (and, if I forget not, they were called *Tutuli*, and the Idols *Tutulati*), as amongst us the Diadems of the Saints, or, as some make it, three Crowns one upon another, like the *Regno*, or Pontifical Crown, of our Pope.

In the middle of the Temple, between the chief entrance and the inner shrine, was another darker inclosure, separated from the chief entrance, but not to the same extent as was the inner shrine, that is to say about half-way between the two, wherein stood, fastned in the ground, certain slender staves, with others across them in two rows, making a little Stockade, or Palisade, of a long form; and these were to hang Lamps and Tapers upon; at more solemn dayes and hours...

Within the circuit of this Temple, but on one side of the Court as you go in, were three other little cells, separate from the body of the great Temple, two of which were empty, perhaps not yet well prepared, but in the other was an Idol of an Ox, which our Barber knew, and said was also of his Country and that they call it *Basuana*; it was half lying, or rather sitting, upon the floor, with the Head erect; like which Ox, or *Basuana*, stood another in the upper part of the Temple, before the Tribunal of the Idol *Virena*, as if it stood

there for his guard.

In the Evening the Ministers of the Temple ring a kind of Bell or Shell, which was within the Temple, striking it with a staff; and it made a tolerable sound, as if it had been a good Bell: at which sound, some from without assembling together, they begin to sound within the Temple very loudly two Drums, and two Pipes, or Flutes, of metal; after which, many Tapers being lighted, particularly, at the Stockade above-mentioned, and a little quilt being put in order, with a Canopy of rich stuff above it which is alwayes ready in the Temple for carrying the Idol, they put the principal Idol *Virena* on it, (not that one of ordinary wood in the middle of the Temple, but the other at the upper end, which was of the same bigness, about two spans round the body) and ornaments about it, but all painted with various colours, gilded, and deck'd with white Flowers. Then one of the Ministers march'd first, sounding a Bell continually as he went, and after him others, and at length two with lighted Tapers, after which follow'd the Idol in his Canopy, with a Minister before him, carrying a Vessel of Perfumes, which he burnt; and thus they carry'd him in Procession: first into the Court without the Temple, going out of it on the left Hand, as you enter, which to them as they came out was the right, and returning by the other opposite. After which, going out of the Gate of the Court into the street, they went in the, same manner in Procession, (still sounding their Bells) I know not whither, but 'tis likely they went to some other Temple to perform some kind of ceremony; for in the Town there was more than one. Being at length return'd, and the procession reentering the Court with a great train of Men and Women of the Town, they went thrice about the inside of the Court, as they had done once, before they went out....

...one of the Ministers distributed to all the by-standers a little quantity of certain Fitches, mingled with small slices of Indian Nut, which, I conceive, had been offer'd to the Idol; and they took and ate the same with signes of Devotion and Reverence...

12. Aghoreshwar [Mahadev] temple at Ikkeri, Pietro Della Valle³⁵

At night, walking in the City, I saw in the Piazza of the great Temple (which I understood was dedicated to an Idol call'd *Agore Scuara*, who, they say, is the same with *Mahadeu*, although they represent him not in the same shape, as that I saw of *Mahadeu* in *Cambaia*, but in the shape of a Man, with but one Head and Face and sixteen Arms on each side (in all thirty-two); which is not strange, since our Antients call'd many of their Idols by names sufficiently different and pourtray'd them in several shapes; and wherein also I understood there was an Idol of *Parveti*, who is the wife of *Mahadeu*, though the Temple be not dedicated to her): I saw, I say, in the Piazza one of their Fryers, or *Giangami* [Lingayats], clad all in white, sitting in an handsome

Palanchino, with two great white Umbrellas held over him, one on each side, (which two were for the more gravity) and a Horse led behind, being follow'd by a great train of other *Giangami*, clad in their ordinary habits. Before the *Palanchino* march'd a numerous company of Souldiers and other people, many Drums and Fifes, two strait long Trumpets and such brass Timbrels as are used in *Persia*, Bells and divers other Instruments, which sounded as loud as possible, and amongst them was a troop of Dancing-women adorn'd with Girdles, Rings upon their Legs, Neck-laces and other ornaments of Gold, and with certain Pectorals, or Breast-plates; almost round, in the fashion of a Shield and butting out with a sharp ridge before, embroyder'd with Gold and stuck either with Jewels, or some such things, which reflected the Sun-beams with marvellous splendor; as to the rest of their bodies they were uncover'd, without any Veil, or Head-tire. When they came to the Piazza the *Palanchino* stood still, and, the multitude having made a ring, the Dancing-women fell to dance after their manner; which was much like the Moris-dance of *Italy*, onely the Dancers sung as they'd danc'd, which seem'd much better. One of them who, perhaps, was the Mistress of the rest danc'd along by herself, with extravagant and high jumpings, but always looking towards the *Palanchino*. Sometimes she cower'd down with her haunches almost to the ground, sometimes, leaping up, she struck them with her feet backward, (as *Coelius Rhodiginus* relates of the ancient dance call'd *Bibasi*) continually singing and making several gestures with her Hands; but after a barbarous manner and such as amongst us would not be thought handsome. The Dance being ended, the *Palanchino* with all the train went forward, the Instruments continually playing before them. I follow'd to see the end, and found that they went into the chief street and so out of the City by the Gate which leads to *Sagher*; stopping in divers places of the street to act the same, or the like, dances over again; and particularly in the Entrance of the said Gate, where, amongst many Trees and Indian Canes which make the City-Wall, there is a small Piazza, very even and shaded about like a Pastoral Scene and very handsome. At last the *Giangamo* with his *Palanchino* and train enter'd into certain Gardens without the Gate where his House stood; and after the last dance he remain'd there and the rest went away. They told me this honor was done him because they had then cast water upon his Head and perform'd some other Ceremony, equivalent to our ordaining one *in Sacris*, or creating a Doctor...

13. Dancing priest at Ikkeri, Pietro Della Valle³⁶

The same Evening Lights being set up in all the Temples, and the usual Musick of Drums and Pipes sounding, I saw in one Temple, which was none of the greatest, a Minister, or Priest, dance before the Idol all naked, saving that he had a small piece of Linnen over his Privities, as many of them

continually go; he had a drawn Sword in his Hand, which he flourish'd as if he had been fencing; but his motions were nothing but lascivious gestures. And, indeed, the greatest part of their Worship of their Gods consists in nothing but Musick, Songs & Dances, not only pleasant but lascivious, and in serving their idols as if they were living Persons; namely in presenting to them things, to eat, washing them, perfuming them, giving, them *Betle-leaves*, dying them with Sanders, carrying them abroad in Procession, and such other things as the Country-people account delights and observances...

14. Temple procession at Ikkeri, Pietro Della Valle³⁷

...I went to the great Temple, where, as it is the principal, I thought to see the greatest and most solemn Ceremonies. After the people were call'd together by the sounding of several Trumpets a good while without the Temple they began to make the usual Procession within the Yard, or Inclosure, with many noises of their barbarous instruments, as they are wont to do here every evening: which after they had done as often as they pleas'd they went forth into the street, where much people expected them, carrying two Idols in procession, both in one *Palanchino*, one at each end, small and so deck'd with Flowers and other Ornaments that I could scarce know what they were. Yet I think that in the back-end was *Agoresouer*, to whom the Temple is dedicated, and the other *Parveti*, or some other Wife of his. First march'd the Trumpets and other instruments of divers sorts, continually sounding, then follow'd amongst many Torches a long train of Dancing-women, two and two, bare-headed, in their dancing dress and deck'd with many Ornaments of Gold and Jewels. After them came the *Palanchino* of the Idols, behind which were carry'd many Lances, Spears with silken Streamers, and many Umbrellas garnish'd with silken tufts and fringes round about, more stately than those used by others, even the King himself; for these are commonly the Ensignes of Grandeur. On each side of the *Palanchino* went many rows of Women, either publick Dancers, or prostitutes; but because these were not to dance they went bare-fac'd indeed, (as the Pagan Women here little care for covering their Faces) but with a cloth bound about their Heads and hanging down behind upon their Shoulders and before upon their Breasts. Some of them next the *Palanchino* carryed in their Hands certain little Staves, either of Silver, or Silver'd over; at the end of which hung thick, long and white tufts of the hair of Horses tails, with which (as 'tis the custom of great Persons in India to use them) they went fanning the Air, and either drove away the Flies from the Idols in the *Palanchino*, or at least performed this Office as a piece of Grandeur, as with us the same is done to the Pope, with fans made of the tails of white Peacocks, when he goes abroad in *Pontificalibus*. Neither were there wanting about the Idols many of their Priests, or Ministers, of the Temple who accompany'd them; particularly one

who seem'd the chief and *Archimandrita* of the rest; besides abundance of Torches whose light dispell'd the darkness of the Moon-less night. In this order they came into the Piazza, and there, after they had made a large ring, the dancing began; first two Dancing-women, one from one side of the circle, and another from another, yet both with their Faces always turn'd towards the Idols, walk'd three steps forward, and then three backward; and this they did innumerable times. I suppose it was a way of saluting the Idols. After the said two Dancers alone had done thus two others from the several sides joyn'd with them, and they did the same again, three and three. This Salutation, or Preamble of the Ballet, being many times repeated, they began to dance, namely two that danc'd better than the rest, one on the right side of the circle, and the other on the left, both with their Faces, never with their backs, towards the *Palanchino* of the Idols, though often in the Dance they retir'd backwards as well as went forwards. Their dancing was high, with frequent leapings and odd motions, sometimes inclining their haunches as if they meant to sit down, sometimes rising very high and causing the skirt wherewith they are cover'd from the girdle downwards to fly out, and always holding one Arm stretch'd out before them, wherewith they now and then made as if they were thrusting, or fencing; besides other mad gestures; which were all accompany'd with words which they sang, and sometimes with cries more apt to give horror than delight. Hence, while all the other Dancing-women (that is those who were uncover'd and loosed for dancing) danced all in a company together further distant from the Idols, striking their little sticks and singing, being guided by a Man who danced with them and was their Master, the other Dancers who were cloth'd stood about the Idols, but danced not, nor ever moved from their place; onely they accompany'd the Show, very fine with Ornaments of Gold and Jewels, and some of them having Flowers, others leaves of *Betle*, or other Odoriferous Herb, in their Hands.

This Dance being ended, the Procession went forwards with the same Pomp and a numerous Train of Men and Women of all sorts. They went not round the great Piazza in front of the Temple but within the outermost walls of the Temple, which is surrounded by very large streets, inhabited for the most part by the said Dancers, or publick Strumpets. The circuit of the Procession began from the right Hand as you come out of the Temple, which comes to be the left as you enter in; and in the same manner I saw the Procession begin at the Temple of the Town *Ahinela*, which I have described above; so that it must needs be one of their usual Ceremonies. This procession stop'd at several places in the streets through which it past; and at every such stopping, the above-mention'd Dancings, Perambulations and other performances were again repeated; whence the Show lasted a good while and concluded at length with the last Dance in the Piazza before the Temple-Gate; which ended, the

Procession with the Idols re-enter'd the Temple, where it being replaced according to their accustomed Ceremonies, the solemnity ended and all the people departed.

I was told by one of the spectators that this Ceremony was practised every *Monday* at night and at every New and Full Moon, as also upon certain other extraordinary solemnities, with more or less Pomp proportionably to the Festivals: and he added that the night following there would be a greater solemnity than this, because the New Moon and another of their Feasts were then coincident, and that the King himself would be there; wherefore I resolved with my self to see it.

15. The temple and town illuminated at Ikkeri [Diwali?], king visits temple, Pietro Della Valle³⁸

November the one and twentieth. This night an infinite number of Torches and Candles were lighted, not onely in all the Temples but also in all the Streets, Houses and Shops of *Ikkeri*, which made a kind of splendour over all the City. In each of the Temples was its Idol, which in some was a Serpent; and they had adorned the outward Porches not onely with lights, but also with certain contrivances of paper, on which were painted Men on Horse-back, Elephants, people fighting and other odd figures; behind which papers lights were placed in certain little Arches, like those which we make in our Sepulchres; these with other gay Ornaments of Silk hung round about made a sufficiently pretty Show. In the great Temple not onely the inside, in the middle whereof is a very high and slender Cupola, (which appears without too) but also all the outer walls and all those round about the Piazza which lies before it, as also the Houses on the adjacent sides, were all full of lights. The concourse of people of all sorts and degrees, both Men and Women, was very great; and they appeared to go about visiting all the Temples. When it was very late the King came to the great Temple, accompanied onely by his two grandsons... The King stay'd in the Temple about an hour, being entertain'd with Musick, Dancing and other things which I could not see because I was without. At length he came forth, and with the same company, and running in as much haste as he came return'd home; the like did all the other people of whom the Piazza was full, some on one side, some on the other.

16. Hermitage at Kadiri [near Mangalore], Pietro Della Valle³⁹

On the edge of the Plain, where the ascent of the Hill begins, is a great Cistern, or Lake, from which ascending a flight of stairs, with the face turn'd towards the North, you enter into a Gate, which hath a cover'd Porch, and is the first of the whole inclosure, which is surrounded with a wall and a ditch like a Fort. Having enter'd the said Gate, and going straight forward through a

handsome broad Walk, beset on either side with sundry fruit trees, you come to another Gate, where there are stairs and a Porch higher than the former. This opens into a square *Piazza*, or great Court, in the middle whereof stands a Temple of indifferent greatness, and for Architecture like the other Temples of the Indian *Gentiles*; onely the Front looks towards the East, where the Hill riseth higher, and the South side of the Temple stands towards the Gate which leads into the Court. Behind the Temple, on the side of the Court, is a kind of Shed, or Pent-house, with a Charriot in it, which serves to carry the Idol in Procession upon certain Festivals. Also in two, or three, other places of the side of the Court, there are little square Chappels for other Idols. On the North Side of the Court is another Gate opposite to the former, by which going out and ascending some steps you see a great Cistern, or Lake, of a long form built about with black stone, and stairs leading down to the surface of the water; in one place next the Wall 'tis divided into many little Cisterns, and it serves for the Ministers of the Temple to wash themselves in and to perform their Ceremonies.

The Gate of the Temple, as I said, looks Eastward, where the Hill begins to rise very high and steep. From the Front of the Temple to the top of the Hill are long and broad stairs of the same black stone, which lead up to it, and there the place is afterwards plain. Where the stairs begin stands a high, strait and round brazen Pillar, ty'd about in several places with little fillets; 'tis about 60 Palms high, and one and a half thick from the bottom to the top, with little diminution. On this Pillar are plac'd about seventeen round brazen wheels, made with many spokes round about like stars: they are to support the lights in great Festivals, and are distant about three Palms one from another. The top terminates in a great brazen Candlestick of five branches, of which the middle-most is highest, the other four of equal height. The foot of the Pillar is square, and hath an Idol engraven on each side: the whole structure is, or at least seems to be, all of one piece.

The Temple, to wit the inner part where the Idol stands, is likewise all cover'd with brass. They told me that the walls of the whole Inclosure, which are now cover'd with leaves, were sometimes covered with large plates of brass; but that *Venk-tapa Naieka* carry'd the same away when, in the war of *Mangalor*, his Army pillag'd all these Countries: which whether it be true, or no, I know not. The walls of a less Inclosure (wherein, according to their custom, the Temple stands) are also surrounded on the outside with eleven wooden rails up to the top, distant one above the other little more than an Architectural Palm; these also serve to bear Lights on Festival occasions; which must needs make a brave Show, the Temple thereby appearing as if it were all on fire. This Temple is dedicated to an Idol call'd *Moginato* [probably *Parasnath*]. Of what form it is I know not, because they would not suffer us to enter in to see it.

17. Martand temple in Kashmir, Francois Bernier⁴⁰

...we no sooner arrived in the city of *Kachemire* than my *Navaab*, *Danechmend-kan*, sent me to the further end of the country, three short journeys from the capital, that I might witness the 'wonders,' as they are called, of a certain fountain [the sacred spring at Bawan or Matan, near Srinagar; and the temple dedicated to Martand, the sun-god].

I was accompanied by a native, and escorted by one of my *Navaab*'s troopers. The 'wonders' consist in this: in the month of May, when the melting of the snows has just taken place, this fountain, during the space of fifteen days, regularly flows and ebbs three times a day, — when the morning dawns, at noon, and at night. Its flow generally continues three quarters of an hour, and is sufficiently abundant to fill a square reservoir ten or twelve feet deep, and as many in length and breadth. After a lapse of fifteen days, the supply of water becomes less copious and regular, and at the expiration of a month the spring ceases to run, unless in the time of heavy and incessant rains, when it runs with the ebb and flow of other fountains. The *Gentiles* have a small temple on the side of the reservoir dedicated to *Brare*, one of their deities; and hence this spring is called *Send-brary*, or water of *Brare*. Pilgrims flock from all parts to this temple, for the purpose of bathing and purifying themselves in the sacred and miraculous water. Numberless fables are founded on the origin of this fountain, which, not having a shadow of truth, would be little entertaining in the recital. The five or six days that I remained in the vicinity of *Send-brary* were employed in endeavours to trace the cause of the 'wonder:' I paid considerable attention to the situation of the mountain, at whose foot is found this supernatural spring. With much labour and difficulty I reached the top, leaving no part unexplored, searching and prying at every step. I remarked that its length extends from north to south, and that though very near to other mountains, yet it is completely detached from any. Its form resembles an ass's back; the summit is of extreme length, but the greatest breadth is scarcely one hundred paces. One side of the mountain, which is covered with nothing but green grass, has an eastern aspect; but the sun, being intercepted by the opposite mountains, does not shine upon it before eight O'clock in the morning. The western side is covered with trees and bushes.

Having made these observations, it occurred to me that this pretended wonder might be accounted for by the heat of the sun, combined with the peculiar situation and internal disposition of the mountain.

18. Cochin, the temple of swearing, Jean de Thevenot⁴¹

...The Idolaters tell a false story at *Cochin*, which they would have no body to doubt of, because of the extraordinary respect they have for a certain Reservoir, which is in the middle of one of their Pagods. This great Pagod

stands upon the side of a River, called by the Portuguese *Rio Largo* [the Periyar river], which runs from *Cochin* to *Cranganor*; it goes by the name of the Pagod of Swearing; and they say, that the Reservoir or *Tanquie*, which is in that Temple, has Communication under ground with the River, and that when any one was to make Oath judicially about a matter of importance, he that was to Swear, was brought to the *Tanquie*, where a Crocodile was called upon, which commonly kept there, that the Man put himself upon the back of the Creature when he swore, that if he said truth, the Crocodile carried him from one end of the Reservoir to the other, and brought him back again sound and safe to the place where it took him up; and if he told a lie, that the Beast having carried him to one side of the *Tanquie*, carried him again into the middle, where it dived under water with the Man; and though at present there be no Crocodile in that Reservoir, yet they confidently affirm that the Story is true.

19. Sun temple at Multan, Jean de Thevenot⁴²

...[In] *Multan* [there is] a Pagod of great consideration [the famous Sun temple, destroyed in the 11th century, rebuilt and again destroyed after Thevenot's visit, by Aurangzeb], because of the affluence of People, that came there to perform their Devotion after their way; and from all places of *Multan*, *Lahors*, and other Countries, they come thither in Pilgrimage. I know not the name of the Idol that is Worshipped there; the Face of it is black, and it is cloathed in red Leather: It hath two Pearls in place of Eyes; and the *Emir* or Governour of the Countrey, takes the Offerings that are presented to it.

20. Temple at Sitanagar, Jean de Thevenot⁴³

That Pagod is called *Chitanagar* [Sitanagar, city of Sita]: It is an oblong square Temple, forty-five Paces in length, twenty-eight in breadth, and three Fathom high; it is built of a Stone of the same kind as the *Theban*. It hath a Basis five Foot high all round, charged [loaded] with Bends and Wreaths, and adorned with Roses and Notchings, as finely cut, as if they had been done in *Europe*. It hath a lovely frontispiece, with its Architrave, *Cornish* and *Fronton*; and is Beautified with Pillars, and lovely Arches, with the Figures of Beasts in relief, and some with Figures of Men. Then we viewed the inside; the contrivance of that Temple is like that of *Elora*, it hath a Body, a Quire [nave], and a Chappel at the end. I could perceive nothing in the Body and Quire, but the four Walls; though the Lustre of the Stones they are built of, renders the prospect very agreeable: The Floor is of the same Stone, and in the middle of it there is a great Rose well cut. This place like the other Pagods, receives light only by the door: On each side of the Wall of the Quire, there is square hole a foot large, which slopes like a Port-hole for a Piece of Od'nance, and in the middle of the thickness of it, a long Iron skrew, as big as ones Leg, which

enters Perpendicularly into the Wall like a Bar, and I was informed, that these Irons served to fasten Ropes to, for supporting of those who performed voluntary Abstinence for seven days or longer. In the middle of the Chappel at the end, there is an Altar of the same Stone as the Walls are of; it is cut into several Stories, and Adorned all over with Indentings, Roses, and other Embellishments of Architecture, and on each side below, there are three Elephants Heads. There hath been a Pedestal prepared of the same Stone the Altar is of, to set the Idol of the Pagod upon; but seeing the building was not finished, the Idol hath not been set up...

The Temple and Palace are called *Chitanagar*, that is to say, the Lady *Chita*, because the Pagod is Dedicated to Chita the Wife of *Ram*: I learnt that both had been begun by a Rich *Raspoute*, who dying, left the Temple and House imperfect. After all, I observed, as well in the Ancient, as Modern Buildings of the *Indies*, that the Architects make the Basis, Body, and Capital of their Pillars, of one single piece.

E. WORSHIP OF TREES AND ANIMALS

1. Undying fig tree at Prayag, William Finch⁴⁴

In this moholl is a tree which the Indians call the tree of life (beeing a wilde Indian figge tree), for that it could never bee destroyed by the Potan kings and this mans ancestors, which have sought to doe it by all meanes, stocking it up and sifting the very earth under it to gather forth the sprigs; it still springing againe, insomuch that this king lets it alone, seeking to cherish it [*Akshaivat*, undying fig tree]. This tree is of no small esteeme with the Indians. In the waters side within the moholl are divers large devoncans, where the King with his women often passe their times in beholding Gemini paying his tribute to Ganges.

2. Banyan tree and its worship at Surat, Pietro Della Valle⁴⁵

On an other side of the City, but out of the circuit of the houses, in an open place, is seen a great and fair Tree, of that kind which I saw in the sea coasts of *Persia*, near *Ormuz*, called there *Lul* but here *Ber*. The Gentiles of the Country hold it in great veneration for its greatness and age, riting [performing rites] and honoring it often with their superstitious ceremonies, as dear and dedicated to a Goddess of theirs call'd *Parveti*, whom they hold to the Wife of *Mahadeu*, one of their greatest Deities. On the trunk of this tree a little above the ground, they have rudely engraven a round circle, which really hath not any feature of a humane countenance, but according to their gross application represents that of their Idol. This face they keep painted with a

bright Flesh-colour, and this by a sacred rite of Religion; as the Romans also dy'd the face of Jupiter with Vermillion, as Pliny testifies...

... Those flowers and leaves about the Idol's face carv'd in the Tree, are frequently chang'd, and fresh constantly supply'd; and those which at times are taken away are given as a sacred thing to the people, who come from all parts to visit it. In the same rude sculpture of a humane face they have put certain eyes of Silver and Gold with some jewels, which were given by some persons, who foolishly believ'd themselves cur'd of maladies of the eyes by virtue of the Idol...

3. Banyan called tree of Baniyas, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier⁴⁶

... The Franks call it the tree of the Banians, because, in places where there are any of these trees, the idolaters sit under them and cook their food there. They reverence them specially, and generally build their pagodas either under or close to one of these great trees...

4. Kusa grass "destroyer of enemies," Jon Olafsson⁴⁷

About a mile and a half from our fortress was a very fair garden. Mighty often did we go thither, though the Indians liked our coming little, chiefly on account of our trampling. Among many and various plants, one grows there very strange in shape and colour; they call it devil's grass, and it is there held in great esteem. They burn it into powder or dust, and declare that this powder or ashes has the wonderful property that when it is strown the evil spirit at once leaves the spot, and for this reason it is the custom every spring in every town of the Narsinga kingdom to strew this plant's ashes along the streets and outside the gates.

COW WORSHIP

5. Cow worship in Daman, Ralph Fitch⁴⁸

They have a very strange order among them. They worshippe a cowe, and esteeme much of the cowes doung to paint the valles of their houses.

6. Cow's urine, dung regarded holy, Niccolao Manucci⁴⁹

Although these people hold it an abomination to eat of the cow, they believe, however, that it is a venerable thing, and one worthy of all praise, to drink that animal's urine, and to smother their faces with it. It is in pursuance of this opinion that the most noble and the most gallant among them rise betimes in the morning, and holding a cow's tail, worship the spot covered thereby. The reason they give is that this is Lakshmi, mother of their god, Vishnu, and goddess of prosperity. Their worship over, they hold out their two hands and

receive the cow's urine, of which they take a drink. Then, turning the tail into a sort of holy-water sprinkler, they immerse it in the said liquid, and with it they daub their faces. When this ceremonial is over, they declare they have been made holy.

To obtain plenary indulgence for all their sins, they say it is necessary to obtain a beverage composed of milk, butter, cow-dung and cow's urine. With this medicament not only is all sin driven away, but all infamy. In this the Brahmins intervene, for it is they alone who can secure this 'jubilee'. It is obligatory when marrying for the first time, when women arrive at puberty, and on unlucky day. Even the cleverest men, those who look down on the rest of the world, have their houses rubbed with cowdung before they eat, and then, without other ceremony, have their food brought, and eat it.

7. King of Tanjore has special apartment for cow, Jon Olafsson⁵⁰

The Indian King, whose royal title is Nica de Regnate [Raghunath, nayak of Tanjore] worships a horned cow, which lives her life and has her residence in an especially handsomely furnished apartment, with her own proper attendants. She is all decorated with gilded finery and precious stones, and embroidery and bedecked with brocaded gold cloth set with the most precious jewels. The King goes to her morning and evening to do obeisance and (by your leave) washes his hands and face with her water and also his mouth, and finally pours it over the crown of his head.

MONKEYS VENERATED

8. Food placed on terraces for them on Tuesdays and Fridays, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier⁵¹

The Banians have a great veneration for monkeys, and they even feed them in some pagodas where they go to worship...

It should be stated that on every Tuesday and Friday all the monkeys in the neighborhood of Ahmadabad, of their own instinct, come in a body to the town, and ascend the houses, each of which has a small terrace where the occupants sleep during the great heat. On each of these days they do not fail to place upon these little terraces rice, millet, sugarcanes in their season, and other similar things; for if by chance the monkeys did not find their food on the terraces, they would break the tiles with which the rest of the house is covered, and cause great damage...

Baniyas threaten to leave service in Dutch Company over killing of a monkey

I have said that the Banians have an especial veneration for the monkey,

and this is an example in point among several others, which I could quote. One day at Ahmadabad, at the Dutch House, a young man of that nation, who had arrived but a few days before to serve in the office, and was ignorant of the customs of the country, perceiving a large monkey on a tree in the court-yard, wished to give an example of his skill, or rather as it turned out, of his youth, by shooting it. At the time I was at table with the Dutch Commander, and we had scarcely heard the shot before there was a great uproar among the Banians in the service of the Dutch Company, who came to complain bitterly against him who had slain the monkey. They all wished to resign, and it was with much trouble and many apologies that they were appeased and induced to remain.

9. Monkeys reared at temples, those at Mathura migrate to Rana territory on destruction of temple, Niccolao Manucci⁵²

Usually at these temples the Brahmans rear a number of monkeys, which live on the offerings brought by the devout, and they are well fed through the care that the Brahmans take of them. They are at liberty, and wander through the village and the bazaars asking for alms. The Hindus never refuse to give them what is necessary as a matter of charity. At night-fall they retire to the temple, where they take up quarters in the storehouses, the window-sills, and the rooms, some attending to their family affairs, others picking lice from each other. Each one has a female, and no one else may approach her. If perchance any other of them has the temerity to touch another's female, the whole body join and bite him to death. When the Brahman gives them their food, the largest and oldest approach first, and when their belly is full they withdraw and allow room for the others to eat. Should any of the small ones come up while the big ones are feeding, they are fallen upon, and given a lesson in politeness.

All the devout who visit the temples carry with them in their hands some food or fruit, and as they pass near the monkeys throw it down before them.

SNAKE WORSHIP

10. A solemn festival for snakes, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier⁵³

At the March full moon there is a solemn festival for the idol in the form of a serpent... This festival lasts nine days, and while it lasts both men and beasts remain idle; the majority of the latter are ornamented with circles of vermillion around the eyes, with which the horns are also painted, and when any animal is specially loved leaves of tinsel are added. Every morning the idol is worshipped, and the girls dance round it for an hour to the sound of flutes and drums, after which all eat together and enjoy themselves till the

evening, when they worship the idol again and dance round it a second time.

Contrary to the usual custom of the idolaters who consume no kind of drink, during this festival they drink palm wine, and, in villages far removed from the great routes, a spirit is made from this wine, because Musalman governors do not allow them to distil it, or to sell wine brought from Persia or elsewhere.

11. Cobras kept at special places in temples, Niccolao Manucci⁵⁴

In some of these temples they also rear cobras, for whom they have a special house with various hiding-places and holes, *et cetera*. The Brahmans see that they are fed, calling them by striking a rod on the ground. The food is rice cooked in milk and sweetened. Usual foods are also eggs, butter, curds, *et cetera*. I have also seen in some of these temples, engraved on stone, the sun and a cobra, and the cobra in the act of swallowing the sun. The Hindus do this to show that, as they say, an eclipse of the sun proceeds from a great serpent attempting to swallow it. Thus, to rescue it, it is the custom in India during an eclipse to make a great noise with gongs, drums, and other instruments, added to shouts and cries. They also distribute alms. All this they do, so they say, for two reasons. The first, as to the noise, is to disturb the cobra so that he shall be unable to swallow the sun; the second reason for the alms they give, is that their charity may make the snake compassionate. All the Hindus and many Mahomedans have faith in these superstitions.

12. When Muslim members of Fray Sebastian Manrique's party killed peacocks, regarded sacred by the Hindus⁵⁵

...He [the shiqdar, Mughal official] then asked which of my attendants had committed the outrage on the peacocks...[He] then turned to the offender and said, 'Art thou not, as it seems, a Bengali and a Mussalman...? How then didst thou dare in a Hindu district to kill a living thing?

F. AHIMSA, LOVE FOR ANIMALS,

1. Even flea and lice not killed, Jan Huygen van Linschoten⁵⁶

And if they take a Flea or a Louse, they will not kill it, but take or put into some hole or corner in the wall and so let it goe, and you can doe them no greater injurie then to kill it in their presence, for they will never leave intreating and desiring with all curtesie not to kill it, and that man should not seeme to commit so great a sinne, as to take away the life of that, to whom God had given both Soule and Bodie: yea, and they will offer much money to a man to let it liue, and goe away.

2. Pots of water and grain kept on ground for birds and animals, Jan Huygen van Linschoten⁵⁷

They have a custome in *Cambaia*, in the High-wayes, and Woods, to set Pots with water, and to cast Corne, and other Granie upon the ground to feed Birds and Beasts withall...

3. A late sixteenth account of the extreme reverence for animal life⁵⁸

...in Goa I have seen them ransom from the hands of the Portuguese boys birds, dogs and cats which the boys, so as to extract money from them, had pretended to want to kill.

4. Sale of meat forbidden on certain days, Edward Terry⁵⁹

The supply of meat, such as we have in Holland, is ample, but it is cheaper than with us. There are sheep, goats, fowls, geese, ducks, deer and other game; and the supply is so large that it is little valued, and prices are low. Oxen and cows are not slaughtered, as they have to work while they are young, doing everything that is done by horses in Holland; and besides, their slaughter is strictly forbidden by the King on pain of death, though buffaloes may be freely killed. The King maintains this rule to please the Hindu rajas and banians, who regard the cow as one of the most veritable gods or sacred things. They also occasionally obtain by bribery a general order from the King, or from the Governor of a particular city, that no one shall catch any fish for several days, or for as long a period as they can secure; and, occasionally, that for some days no meat of any description, whether goat, sheep, or buffalo, shall be sold in the market. Such orders are extremely inconvenient for ordinary people, but the rich slaughter daily in their own houses. This would be a desirable country if men might indulge their hunger or appetite as they do in our cold lands; but the excessive heat makes a man powerless, takes away his desire for food, and limits him to waterdrinking, which weakens or debilitates his body.

5. Hospital for birds and mice at Cambay maintained by public alms, Pietro Della Valle⁶⁰

The people of *Cambaia* are most part Gentiles; and here, more than elsewhere, their vain superstitions are observed with rigor. Wherefore we, who came particularly to see these things, the same day of our arrival, after we had din'd and rested a while, caus'd ourselves to be conducted to see a famous Hospital of Birds of all sorts, which for being sick, lame, depriv'd of their mates, or otherwise needing food and care, are kept and tended there with diligence; as also the men who take care of them are maintain'd by the publick alms; the Indian Gentiles, who, with *Pythagoras* and the ancient *Egyptians* (the first Authors of this opinion according to *Herodotus*) believe in the

Transmigration of Souls, not onely from Man to Man, but also from Man to brute beast, conceiving it no less a work of Charity to do good to beasts then to Men. The House of this Hospital is small, a little room sufficing for many Birds: yet I saw it full of Birds of all sorts which need tendance, as Cocks, Hens, Pigeons, Peacocks, Ducks and small Birds, which during their being lame, or sick, or mateless, are kept here, but being recover'd and in good plight, if they be wild they are let go at liberty; if domestick they are given to some pious person who keeps them in his House. The most curious thing I saw in this place were certain little Mice, who being found Orphan without Sire or Dam to tend them, were put into this Hospital, and a venerable Old Man with a white Beard, keeping them in a box amongst Cotton, very diligently tended them with his spectacles on his nose, giving them milk to eat with a bird's feather, because they were so little that as yet they could eat nothing else; and, as he told us, he intended when they were grown up to let them go free whither they pleas'd.

6. Hospitals for animals at Cambay, Muslim thief with amputated hands also given refuge, Pietro Della Valle⁶¹

The next Morning, going about the City, we saw another Hospital of Goats, Kids, Sheep and Wethers, either sick or lame, and there were also some Cocks, Peacocks and other Animals needing the same help, and kept altogether quietly enough in a great Court; nor wanted there Men and Women lodg'd in little rooms of the same Hospital, who had care of them. In another place, far from hence, we saw another Hospital of Cows, and Calves, some whereof had broken Legs, others more infirm, very old, or lean, and therefore were kept here to be cur'd. Among the beasts there was also a Mahometan Thief, who having been taken in Theft had both his hands cut off. But the compassionate Gentiles, that he, might not perish miserably now he was no longer able to get his living, took him into this place, and kept him among the poor beasts, not suffering him to want anything. Moreover, without one of the Gates of the City, we saw another great troop of Cows, Calves and Goats, which being cur'd and brought into better plight, or gather'd together from being dispers'd and without Masters, or being redeem'd with Money from the Mahometans who would have killed them to eat, (namely, the Goats and other Animals, but not the Cows and Calves) were sent into the field to feed by neat-herds, purposely maintain'd at the publick charge; and thus they are kept till being reduc'd to perfect health 'tis found fitting to give them to some Citizens, or others who may charitably keep them. I excepted Cows and Calves from the Animals redeem'd from slaughter, because in *Cambaia* Cows, Calves and Oxen, are not killed by any, and there's a great prohibition against it, by the instance of the Gentiles, who upon this account pay a great sum of Money to

the Prince, and should any, either Mahometan or other, be found to kill them, he would be punish'd severely, even with death.

7. **Shedding blood greatest sin, Pietro Della Valle⁶²**

The greatest sin in the world they account shedding of blood, especially that of men; and then, above all, the eating of humane flesh, as some barbarous Nations do, who are therefore detested by them more then all others. Hence the strictest among them, as the *Brachmans*, and particularly the '*Boti*', not onely kill not, but eat not, any living thing; and even from herbs tinctur'd with any reddish colour representing blood they wholly abstain. Others of a larger conscience eat onely fish. Others, the most ignoble and largest of all, though they kill not, nevertheless eat, all sorts of Animals good for food, except Cows; to kill and eat which all in general abhor, saying that the Cow is their Mother...

8. **Rare values, Sir Thomas Herbert, early seventeenth century visitor⁶³**

[The religion of Brahmins is] rare and wonderful, beyond apprehension...They will not feed on aught has bloud and life.

9. **Non-violence pronounced among Brahmins and Baniyas, Giovanni Careri⁶⁴**

Of all the Tribes here mention'd, only the *Brachmans* and *Banians* are so Precise about killing of all Creatures; that even those that are Venemous may Bite them without receiving any Harm from them; but the others in this Case kill them.

G. RITUAL BATHING, ECLIPSES

1. **Bathing in the Ganges at Banaras, Ralph Fitch⁶⁵**

And by breake of day and before, there are men and women which come out of the towne and wash themselves in Ganges. And there are divers old men which upon places of earth made for the purpose, sit praying, and they give the people three or foure strawes, which they take and hold them betweene their fingers when they wash themselves; and some sit to marke them in the foreheads, and they have in a cloth a little rice, barlie, or money, which, when they have washed themselves, they give to the old men which sit there praying. Afterwards they go to divers of their images, and give them of their sacrifices.

2. Ganga worship in Bengal, Fray Sebastian Manrique⁶⁶

To the Ganga river, which they name Gonga, they assign, in their books, great virtues and excellences, holding it as indisputable, that whoever bathes in it is at once absolved from all the pains and penalties of sin. So those who inhabit its banks, immediately on rising in the morning, bathe in its stream, and even if it is raining and is very cold, they will not omit to do this.

3. Bathing festival at Hardwar, nothing comparable in Asia, Thomas Coryat⁶⁷

In this city of Agra where I am now, I am to remaine about six weekes longer, to the end to expect an excellent oportunity which then will offer it selfe unto me to goe to the famous river Ganges, about five daies journy from this, to see a memorable meeting of the gentle people of this country, called Baieans [Banians, meaning Hindus], whereof about foure hundred thousand people go thither of purpose to bathe and shave themselves in the river, and to sacrifice a world of gold to the same river, partly in stamped mony, and partly in massy great lumpes and wedges, throwing it into the river as a sacrifice, and doing other strange ceremonies most worthy the observation [reference to the annual bathing festival at Hardwar held on the first day of the Hindu sidereal year; in 1617 this would fall about the end of March]. Such a notable spectacle it is, that no part of all Asia, neither this which is called the Great Asia nor the Lesser, which is now called Natolia, the like is to be seen. This shew doe they make once every yeere, comming thither from places almost a thousands miles off, and honour their river as their God, Creator, and Saviour; superstition and impiety most abominable in the highest degree of these brutish ethnicks, that are aliens from Christ and the common-wealth of Israel.

4. River festival at Goa, Pietro Della Valle⁶⁸

On the seventeenth of *August* the *Gentile Indians* kept a kind of Festival, to which a great number of them came to a place in *Goa*, which they call *Nave*, or, as the vulgar corruptley speak, *Narva*, as it were for pardon or absolution, and many came in pilgrimage from far Countries to wash their bodies here, plunging themselves into the Arm of the Sea, Men and Women together all naked, without any respect at all, even persons of quality, and casting Fruits, Perfumes and, other things into the water, as it were in Oblation to the Deity of the water in this place, with other Ceremonies, Devotions and the like... This Feast, and their Devotion, last two days, but the first day is the most remarkable.

5. Sacrifice to the sea, Jean de Thevenot⁶⁹

As all the People of that coast [Dabul to Goa] are much given to Seafaring,

so the Gentiles offer many times Sacrifices to the Sea, especially when any of their Kindred or Friends are abroad upon a Voyage. Once I saw that kind of Sacrifice, a Woman carried in her hands a Vessel made of Straw, about three Foot long, it was covered with a Vail [cloth]; three Men playing upon the Pipe and Drum accompanied her, and two others had each on their head a Basket full of Meat and Fruits; being come to the Sea-side, they threw into the Sea the Vessel of Straw, after they had made some Prayers, and left the Meat they brought with them upon the Shoar, that the poor and others might come and eat it.

The Gentiles offer another at the end of September [coconut day, nariali purnima, to keep the sea calm], and that they call to open the Sea, because no body can Sail upon their Seas from May till that time; but that Sacrifice is performed with no great Ceremonies, they only throw *Coco's* into the Sea and everyone throws one. The only thing in that Action that is pleasant, is to see all the young Boys leap into the Water to catch the *Coco's*; and whilst they strive to have and keep them, shew a hundred tricks and feats of Agility.

6. Sangam at Allahabad, Jean de Thevenot⁷⁰

Thither comes at certain times an incredible concours of People, in Pilgrimage from all parts of the *Indies*; and they are drawn thither by the belief they have, that *Adam* and *Eve* were created there: But before they approach that place (which they look upon to be holy) they throw themselves stark naked into the *Ganges* to be purified, and they have (shave) their Beards and Hair, that they may merit the Honour of being introduced. That Province hath a great mant good Towns...but the People are so extravagant in point of Religion, that hardly any thing is to be understood of it: They are taken with every thing they see, and approve all the Actions of those that make any shew of Devotion, never minding whether it be true or false. It many times happens that a *Banian* will give a *Faquir* considerable Sums of Money, because he has the boldness to place himself near his Shop, and to protest that he'll kill himself if he be not supplied with what he demands: The *Banian* promises fair, and brings it him; but because the fantastical *Faquir* understands that several have contributed to that Charity, he openly [haughtily] refuses it, and goes about to execute what he hath threatned, if the *Banian* alone furnish not the Sum; and the *Banian* knowing that some *Faqirs* have been so desperate as to kill themselves upon the like occasion, is so much a fool as to give it out of his own Purse, and to give the others back again what they had contributed.

7. Eclipse witnessed in Bengal, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier⁷¹

The Brahmans possess much knowledge of astrology, and know how to predict eclipses of the sun and moon for the people. On the 2nd of July 1666 at

one o'clock p.m. an eclipse of the sun was visible at Patna, a town of the Kingdom of Bengal. It was a wonderful sight to watch the multitude of people, men, women, and children, who came from all quarters to bathe in the Ganges. But they must begin this bathing three days before they see the eclipse, during which time they remain day and night on the banks of the river preparing all kinds of rice, milk, and sweetmeats to throw to the fishes and crocodiles. Immediately when the Brahmins give the word, and they know it is the fortunate hour, whichever kind of eclipse it may be, of the sun or moon, the idolaters break all the earthen vessels used in their households, and leave not one piece whole – this causes a terrible noise in a town.

Every Brahman has his book of magic, in which there are a number of circles and semi-circles, of squares and triangles, and many other kinds of figures. They draw divers figures on the ground, and when they perceive that the fortunate hour has arrived they all cry aloud to the people to throw food into the Ganges. Then a terrible noise is made with drums, bells, and large disks made of a metal similar to that of our cymbals, which they strike one against the other; and as soon as the food is thrown into the river all the people should enter and continue rubbing themselves, and bathing until the eclipse is over. As this eclipse appeared at a time when the Ganges is usually very low, after the end of the rains, which last from the month of July to the end of October, for more than 3 leagues above and below the town, and as many as the river extends in width, nothing was to be seen but heads in the water. As for the Brahmins, they remain on land to receive the richest pilgrims and those who give them most, dry their bodies, and give them fresh clothes to cover their waists. Then they make them sit in chairs, at a place where the richest of the idolaters have brought abundance of Indian corn, rice, and all kinds of vegetables, with milk, butter, sugar, flour, and wood. Before each chair the Brahman makes a very clean place about 5 or 6 feet square, after which he takes cattle droppings steeped in a great dish of yellow pigment, to rub over all the place, through fear lest some ant might come there and be burnt [actually to preserve the purity of the enclosure]. If possible their ceremonies are conducted without burning any wood, and for cooking their food they generally use cattle dropping.

8. Solar eclipses in France and Delhi, Francois Bernier⁷²

I have witnessed two solar eclipses which it is scarcely possible I should ever forget. The one I saw from France in the year 1654, the other from Dehli in the Indies in 1666. The sight of the first eclipse was impressed upon my mind by the childish credulity of the French people, and by their groundless and unreasonable alarm; an alarm so excessive that some brought drugs as charms to defend themselves against the eclipse; some kept themselves closely

shut up, and excluded all light either in carefully-barred apartments or in cellars; while thousands flocked to their respective churches; some apprehending and dreading a malign and dangerous influence; others believing that the last day was at hand, and that the eclipse was about to shake the foundations of the world. Such were the absurd notions entertained by our countrymen, notwithstanding the writings of Gassendi [Pierre Gassendi 1592-1655], Roberval [Gilles Personne de Roberval 1602-1675, the great French mathematician], and other celebrated astronomers and philosophers, which clearly demonstrated that the eclipse was only similar to many others which had been productive of no mischief; that this obscuration of the sun was known and predicted, and was without any other peculiarity than what might be found in the reveries of ignorant or designing astrologers.

The eclipse of 1666 is also indelibly imprinted on my memory by the ridiculous errors and strange superstitions of the *Indians*. At the time fixed for its appearance I took my station on the terrace of my house, situated on the banks of the *Gemna*, when I saw both shores of the river, for nearly a league in length, covered with *Gentiles*, or-idolaters, who stood in the water up to the waist, their eyes riveted to the skies, watching the commencement of the eclipse, in order to plunge and wash themselves at the very instant. The little boys and girls were quite naked; the men had nothing but a scarf round their middle, and the married women and girls of six or seven years of age were covered with a single cloth. Persons of rank or wealth, such as *Rajas* (*Gentile* sovereign princes, and generally courtiers in the service and pay of the King), *Serrafs* or money-changers, bankers, jewellers, and other rich merchants, crossed from the opposite side of the river with their families, and pitching their tents fixed *kanates* or screens in the water, within which they and their wives washed and performed the usual ceremonies without any exposure. No sooner did these idolaters perceive that the obscuration of the sun was begun than they all raised a loud cry, and plunged the whole body under water several times in quick succession; after which they stood in the river, lifted their eyes and hands toward the sun, muttered and prayed with seeming devotion, filling their hands from time to time with water, which they threw in the direction of the sun, bowing their heads very low, and moving and turning their arms and hands, sometimes one way, sometimes another. The deluded people continue to plunge, mutter, pray, and perform their silly tricks until the end of the eclipse. On retiring they threw pieces of silver at a great distance into the *Gemna*, and gave alms to the *Brahmens*, who failed not to be present at this absurd ceremony. I remarked that every individual on coming out of the water put on new clothes placed on the sand for that purpose, and that several of the most devout left their old garments as presents for the *Brahmens*.

In this manner did I observe from the roof of my house the solemnisation

of the grand eclipse-festival, a festival which was kept with the same external observances in the *Indus*, in the *Ganges*, and in the other rivers and *Talabs* (or tanks of the *Indies*), but above all in that one at *Tanaiser* [the sacred tank at Thaneswar, Karnal district, an ancient place of Hindu pilgrimage], which contained on that occasion more than one hundred and fifty thousand persons, assembled from all parts of the empire; its waters being considered on the day of an eclipse more holy and meritorious than those of any other.

The Great *Mogol*, though a *Mahometan*, permits these ancient and superstitious practices; not wishing, or not daring, to disturb the *Gentiles* in the free exercises of their religion. But the ceremony I have described is not performed until a certain number of *Brahmens*, as deputies from their fellows, have presented the King with a *league* of *roupies*, equal to about fifty thousand crowns; in return for which he begs their acceptance only of a few vests and an old elephant.

9. Earthen vessels broken before eclipse, Giovanni Careri⁷³

Three Days before an Eclipse happens, the *Brachmans* having Notice of it, break all the Earthen Vessels, to use new Ones afterwards; and run all of them to the River to boil Rice, and other Things, and throw it in for the Fishes, and Crocodils, when they find the fortunate Hour is come... □

Chapter 9

Sciences

- A. Astronomy and Time-reckoning
- B. Diseases and Cures
- C. Hindu Physicians
- D. Drugs and stones used for cure

A. ASTRONOMY AND TIME-RECKONING

1. The Gentile tables, Francois Bernier¹

In regard to astronomy, the *Gentiles* have their tables, according to which they foretell eclipses, not perhaps with the minute exactness of *European* astronomers, but still with great accuracy. They reason, however, in the same ridiculous way on the lunar as on the solar eclipse, believing that the obscuration is caused by a black, filthy, and mischievous *Deuta*, named *Rach*, [Rakshasas, creatures of darkness], who takes possession of the moon and fills her with infection. They also maintain, much on the same ground, that the moon is four hundred thousand coses, that is, above fifty thousand leagues, higher than the sun; that she is a luminous body and that we receive from her a certain vital liquid secretion, which collects principally in the brain, and, descending thence as from its source into all the members of the body, enables them to exercise their respective functions. They believe likewise that the sun, moon, and stars are all so many *deutas*; that the darkness of night is caused by the sun retiring behind the *Someire* [Sumeru, or Mount Meru], an imaginary mountain placed in the centre of the earth, in form like an inverted sugar loaf, and an altitude of I know not how many thousand leagues: so that they never enjoy the light of day but when the sun leaves the back of this mountain.

2. Four Yugas, Francois Bernier²

I then turned the conversation to the subject of chronology, and my

company soon showed me a far higher antiquity than ours. They would not say that the world was without a beginning; but the great age they gave it sounded almost as if they had pronounced it eternal. Its duration, said they, is to be reckoned by four *Dgugues* [Yugas], or distinct ages; not ages composed, as with us, of an hundred years, but of one hundred *lecques*, that is to say, of an hundred times one hundred thousand years. I do not recollect exactly the number of years assigned to each *Dgugue*, but I know that the first, calld *Sate-Dgugue* [Satya Yuga], continued during a period of five-and-twenty *lecques* of years; that the second, called *Trita* [Treta], lasted above twelve *lecques*; the third, called *Duapor* [Dwapara], subsisted, if I mistake not, eight *lecques* and sixty-four thousand years; and the fourth, called the *Kale-Dgugue* [Kali Yuga], is to continue I forget how many *lecques* of years. The first three, they said, and much of the fourth, are passed away, and the world will not endure so many ages as it has done, because it is destined to perish at the termination of the fourth *Dgugue*, when all things will return to their first principles. Having pressed the *Pendets* to tell me the exact age of the world, they tried their arithmetical skill over and over again; but finding that they were sadly perplexed, and even at variance as to the number of *lecques*, I satisfied myself with the general information that the world is astonishingly old...

3. Hindu beliefs about the planets, Niccolao Manucci³

These people accept the twelve celestial signs, and with them the twenty-seven fixed stars, to which they give proper names in their language.

They assert in their astronomical treatises that the sun moves above the earth at a distance of six hundred and twenty-five thousand leagues, and the moon is raised above the sun a similar distance. This is the reason, so they say, that eclipses are not caused by the interposition of the moon between the earth and the sun. But here follows what they declare to be the cause.

When the gods and the giants were removing the butter from the milky ocean, Vishnu, when he interfered with the giants, gave a feast at which this nectar was served out to all the gods invited by him. But the snake Sesham, whom they call one of the principal gods, was not present at this banquet. Sun and Moon, whom they style the most luminous of the gods, were most greedy, and ate the snake's portion. On his subsequent arrival the snake missed his share. The other gods informed him that the Sun and Moon had eaten it, when the snake, filled with rage and wrath, swore to make them find it a bitter morsel; when he found it convenient, he meant to swallow them and punish them for their greediness.

If he spoke well, he acted still better. When he swallows the sun, that planet is in eclipse: and when it is the moon he swallows, the moon is eclipsed. But in order that the world be not left in an unending night, the gods, the

Brahmans, and others, never fail to bathe at these conjunctures, and offer up prayers, not only with fasting, but with the shedding of many tears. They ardently implore the snake that he be pleased to release the sun or the moon, according to which of them is in eclipse.

Such is their persistence, in these prayers, that for one day before the completion of the eclipse they neither eat nor drink, they cook nothing, and allow no food to be in their houses. They declare that the eclipse only ends because the snake Sesham, being effected by so many prayers, releases those two great planets that he had already swallowed.

With regard to time, they divide it into four parts, which they call Nerutavigam (Krita-yugam), Duabringam (Dwaparayugam), Terridasugam (Treta-yugam), and Calvигам (Kaliyugam). Their belief is that the first three ages of the world have passed, and that those were true golden ages, not only in length, but in their nature, owing to the good fortune and the pleasant lives which all the world had and enjoyed. In the third age lived a king, the father of Rama, of whom I spoke in the life of Vishnu. This man lived sixty thousand years without having issue. Then in his old age and decrepitude he had a son. This *vingano* (yugam), or age of the world, has not had, according to my authors, any beginning or end, nor do they state any principle of its age or being.

As for the fourth age, the one now in existence, it is, they say, an iron age, both for the misfortunes and hindrances men undergo in it, and for the short duration of their lives. They suppose that this age began four hundred thousand four hundred and forty-eight years ago. In spite of the lapse of such a long period, there are still many more years to come than the number already past before it will come to an end. They say that what has passed is in comparison with what is to come, as is a mustardseed to a pumpkin. In this fabulous account the Hindus are divided into two contrary opinions. Some say that at the end of this fourth age of the world there will be no subsequent age. The others assert that the world is to endure for ever, and on the conclusion of this iron age, the vanished golden ages will arise anew and begin their course once more.

Although the four ages spoken of above are celebrated among these idolaters, they relate also, in a book they call the 'Chronicles of the World', that preceding these four ages there had been fourteen others.

B. DISEASES AND CURES

1. Native cures for fevers, catarrh, wounds, Tome Pires⁴

When they are ill the patients do not eat meat; and have a diet of fish alone. The chief remedy is to play the kettle-drum and other instruments to the patients for two or three days – and they say this does good. If they have

fever they eat fish and keep washing themselves; if they vomit they wash their heads with cold water and it is good, and it stops; and if they have catarrh they drink *lanha* water – *lanha* is the young coconut – and it stops at once; if they want to purge themselves they take the crushed leaves, or the juice or the seeds of the *figueira do inferno* [castor oil plant], and they are well purged, and they wash themselves; if they are badly wounded, they let warm coconut oil run over the wound twice a day for an hour or two, and they are cured. Our people when they have fevers eat fat chickens and drink wine and are cured.

2. Elephantiasis in Malabar, Tome Pires⁵

Many people in Malabar, Nayars as well as Brahmans and their wives – in fact about a quarter or a fifth of the total population, including the people of the lowest castes – have very large legs, swollen to a great size; and they die of this, and it is an ugly thing to see. They say that this is due to the water through which they go, because the country is marshy. This is called *pericaes* in the native language, and all the swelling is the same from the knees downward, and they have no pain, nor do they take any notice of this infirmity.

3. Cholera epidemic in Goa in 1543, Gaspar Correia⁶

This winter there was in Goa a mortal pain which the people of this country call morxy, which affects all type of people from early childhood to the old age of 80 and also animals and domesticated birds... For this disease our physicians did not find any cure so that the patient survived only one day or at the most one night, so that of one hundred patients less than ten survived and some of those who survived did so because they were treated quickly by medicines of little substance which were known to the native physicians. So high was the mortality during the winter that the whole day the Church bells were pealing; each day 12, 15 and 20 dead were buried; then the Governor ordered that ringing of bells in Churches should stop in order not to frighten the people...

4. A case study of cholera as described by Garcia da Orta⁷

Ruano: How do the native physicians cure this disease?

Orta: They give the patients rice water to drink, with pepper and cummin seed, which they call Canje. They cauterize the feet in the way I ordered to be done to that gentleman. They also throw long pepper into the eyes to try its strength. For the cramp they fasten up the head, arms, and legs with very strong bands down to the knees, and from the knees to the feet. They give him their betel to eat. All these things are not wanting in reason, though they are done roughly.

5. Native treatment of dysentery, Garcia da Orta⁸

Although this medicine [given by Orta for dysentery] is good, and often

succeeded with it, yet I feel bound to confess that it does not act so quickly nor its action is so certain as that of the herb which the Malabarins give.

...This is what I know about these medicines, and I will take you to see patients being cured by Malabarins and Canarins, so that you may know it all more thoroughly.

6. Examples of patients afflicted with dysentery cured by native doctors, Garcia da Orta⁹

...a very honorable gentleman, whose name is well known in Spain,[who] had a regard for a Mallayalim who had saved his life in a difficult case of dysentery. [Then, there is the case of the daughter of] an old Portuguese, who had been a long time in the country...who had been ill with dysentery for a year [and who was restored to health by one of the native doctors].

7. Advice on use of turbit for inflammation from Malupa, a Hindu physician, Garcia da Orta¹⁰

Ruano: How is it that the black [turbit] is worthless and the white is good? What are the conditions of its goodness?

Orta: The custom of the native druggists, who are called Gandhis, is to dry it in the sun. They say that it turns black if it is dried in the shade. Then they bring it to our druggists, and they have learnt this way of drying this medicine from experience. It may be that which becomes black from being dried in the shade is the best, but up to the present time I have not tried the experiment.

Ruano: Do the Indian doctors use this turbit to reduce inflammation?

Orta: Yes, sir, and on this point I wish to call in a native doctor who seems to me to be the best, that I may question him in presence of your worship....

Orta: Malupa, tell this gentleman who is a doctor, how the turbit is used in this country, if it is mixed with ginger, and from what part the best comes.

Malupa: Yes, we use it to reduce inflammation, sometimes mixing ginger with it when there is no fever. We also mix ginger with other purgative medicines, but we also give them without ginger. The best turbit is that of Cambaia, whence it is brought to other parts of India. I have shown the turbit to this gentleman here present. I may tell you that we sometimes cure with that grown at Goa, but not unless it is gathered near the sea. They tell me that it is at Bisnagar, but not good.

8. Use of minerals for cure, Garcia da Orta¹¹

Orta: ...the Indian doctors know the use of mineral substances in medicine. I have seen them melting and pulverizing metals such as steel, iron and mercury. The king of Cranganore in Malabar was given pulverized mercury to drink for a long time....

Ruano: Do they use ours? (meaning European medicine)

Orta: Very often. But most of them not correctly. For they say there is bleeding, and they never bled before we were in the land; but they used cupping glasses, scarification (carrafar) and leeches. According to what I knew from the physicians of Sultan Bahadur Nizamoxa, they were never accustomed to look at waters, except by watching what we do, and copying like apes. Whence it happens that when they see the urine white they take it for a good sign, and when it is red and thick, they look upon it as bad. These and many other things I had from their own lips; and why not from those who know so little should there not be something good?

Ruano: Do they give syrups or distilled waters, and is the custom ancient among them?

Orta: They do not use them in Balgate, but I know those here who practise, and they say that they give violet syrup, lambedor water, against flux, plantain or barley, cordial slices, sugar rose and almond water, but none of these things was it the custom to use before we came.... They did not distil water before we came, but they had the custom of giving boiled water of legumes and seeds to drink, and juice of herbs roughly prepared. They walk along one street curing all out of one flask that they carry.

C. HINDU PHYSICIANS

1. On what he learnt from the *Gentios*, Garcia da Orta¹²

Yes, many things. But first, I try the medicine of my doctors, and when I find that it is not giving result I take the medicine prescribed by the Brahmins of the land...they cure the dysentery well, can tell whether there is fever or not from the pulse, and whether it is weak or strong, and what is the humour that offends, whether it is blood or heat or phlegm, or melancholy; and they give a good remedy for obstruction.

2. Travelling with Sultan Bahadur, in company with Dom Martim Afonso de Sousa, when the latter was taken ill with a fever, Garcia da Orta¹³

The King sent for me and asked me how I would cure Dom Martim. I told him...He replied that the Portuguese did not know so well as the Gujaratis how to cure fever; for that the Gujaratis did not cure in any other way than to give nothing to eat... He confessed to me that the Portuguese were very good physicians for other infirmities but they did not know so much about fevers as Gujaratis.

3. Hindu physicians at Goa treat Portuguese, Jan Huygen van Linschoten¹⁴

There are in *Goa* many Heathen Physicians which obserue their grauities with Hats carried ouer them for the Sunne, like the *Portugalls*, which no other Heathens doe, but onely Ambassadors, or some rich Merchants. These Heathen Physicians doe not onely cure their owne Nations and Countrimen, but the *Portugalls* also, for the Viceroy himselfe, the Arch-bishop, and all the Monkes and Friers doe put more trust in them then in their owne Countrimen, whereby they get great store of money, and are much honoured and esteemed.

4. Native remedies successful in Hindustan, Francois Bernier¹⁵

On physic they have a great number of small books, which are rather collections of recipes than regular treatises. The most ancient and the most esteemed is written in verse. I shall observe, by the way, that their practice differs essentially from ours, and that it is grounded on the following acknowledged principles: a patient with a fever requires no great nourishment; the sovereign remedy for sickness is abstinence; nothing is worse for a sick body than meat broth, for it soon corrupts in the stomach of one afflicted with fever; a patient should be bled only on extraordinary occasions, and where the necessity is most obvious – as when there is reason to apprehend a brain fever, or when an inflammation of the chest, liver, or kidneys, has taken place.

Whether these modes of treatment be judicious, I leave to our learned physicians to decide; I shall only remark that they are successful in *Hindoustan*, and that the *Mogol* and *Mahometan* physicians, who follow the rules of *Avicenna* and *Averroes*, adopt them no less than do those of the *Gentiles*, especially in regard to abstinence from meat broth. The *Mogols*, it is true, are rather more given to the practice of bleeding than the *Gentiles*; for where they apprehend the inflammations just mentioned, they generally bleed once or twice, not in the trifling manner of the modern practitioners of *Goa* and *Paris*, but copiously, like the ancients, taking eighteen or twenty ounces of blood, sometimes even to fainting; thus frequently subduing the disease at the commencement, according to the advice of *Galen*, and as I have witnessed in several cases.

It is not surprising that the *Gentiles* understand nothing of anatomy. They never open the body either of man or beast, and those in our household always ran away, with amazement and horror, whenever I opened a living goat or sheep for the purpose of explaining to my *Agah* the circulation of the blood, and showing him the vessels, discovered by *Pecquet* [Jean Pecquet 1622-1674], through which the chyle is conveyed to the right ventricle of the heart. Yet notwithstanding their profound ignorance of the subject, they affirm that the number of veins in the human body is five thousand, neither more nor less; just as if they had carefully reckoned them.

5. Cured with a concoction of herbs, cow's urine and dung administered by Hindu servants, Abbe Carre¹⁶

I had hardly arrived [Aigale, Belgaum district], when I felt very ill with giddiness, which turned into a violent headache, then to sickness and a collapse that lasted for four hours and reduced me to extremity. I could not move, as I had lost my strength and was almost unconscious. All my servants tried to look after me as best they could. The Christians were especially unhappy at seeing me in this state, and not knowing what remedies to apply, they asked me to try the medicines of my Hindu servants, in the hope that I might thus get some relief. On account of the miserable and feeble condition I was in, I consented to let them do all they wished, so that, while some went to get certain herbs and simples of which they knew, the others began their operations by binding my head, the middle of my body, and my hands behind my back, with my turban and belt. They then placed me face downwards, and the most powerful of them, putting his feet on my back, pulled on the silk belts, with which I was bound in three places, with all his strength. He made all my limbs crack, so that I thought he would drag them off. After having given me this treatment five or six times running, he filled my eyes, ears, mouth, and nose, with a composition of water and pounded pepper, cardamoms, and other drugs, so strong that it drew a yellow liquid from all these parts of the head: in my astonishment I thought this must be a little of my brains that had melted on account of the intense heat I had suffered in crossing the burning plains.

That being finished, they all withdrew to a corner of the garden in which we were, and set about making a medicine. It was composed of cows' urine, horses' dung, the juice of some herbs, and other drugs. After doing nearly half an hour's quack ceremonies over this drink, they brought it to me, muttering some words which I did not understand, and in presenting it to me to drink, told me to shut my nose and my eyes, so that the smell and sight of their medicine might not disgust me. They wanted me to swallow it in one dose; but as I never drink anything without seeing what is, I took this medicine in my hand to look at it. I then realised how right they were in wanting to stifle both sight and smell, which were quite sufficient to take away any wish to taste it. I looked at this thick green and yellow mixture, with the most awful odour in this world, when one of my servants, seeing I was hesitating to swallow their remedy, took it out of my hands and, pouring some of it into a cup, drank it before me with as much avidity as I would a glass of Spanish wine. It did him no harm, and as I was so anxious to cure my illness, I drank some of the brew, and feeling a little better for it, I took the rest in several doses...

6. Baniya physicians of Kabul, Jean de Thevenot¹⁷

This Country supplies the rest of the *Indies* with many Physicians, who

are all of the caste of *Banians*: Nay, and some of them are very skilful, and have many secrets in Medicine; and amongst other Remedies, they often make use of burning.

D. DRUGS AND STONES USED FOR CURE

1. Letter to King Manuel of Portugal on drugs found in India, Tome Pires [only the names have been listed]¹⁸

From Cochin. 27 Jan., 1516

From TOME PIRES, apothecary

TO THE KING OUR LORD.

ABOUT THE DRUGS AND WHERE THEY GROW.

Sir

A list was received here asking for certain drugs. Order has been given to look for them and they will go next year. Here I will give an account of where each of them grows, and also of some things which have gone there [to Portugal].

- WORMWOOD
- RHUBARB
- CASSIA FISTOLA
- INCENSE
- OPIUM
- TAMARIND
- GALANGAL
- TURPETH
- MYROBALANS
- ALOES
- SPIKENARD
- ESQUINANTHUS
- FETID GUMS
- BDELLUM, MYRRH
- THINGS LACKING – Scammony, senna....
- MUMMY – is not human flesh...is an exudation from corpses...
- SPODIUM
- TINCAL, TRANGACANTH, SARCOL – Tincal, sarcocol, tragacanth come form the kingdom of Mandu and from Dehi.
- BETEL – *Folio Indo* is betel. The best here is from the kingdom of Goa.
- RUBIES – The mine for the highly coloured rubies appreciated in our parts is in the kingdom of *Capelagua*, bordering on the kingdom of Arakan

and on Pegu, on the heathens' mainland...

- ZEDOARY – Zedoary, *calamo aromatico* (*Acorus calamus* Linn.), *cassia lignea* (*cinnamomum*) are found in Malabar (?), plenty in Mangalore, and in other parts *cassia lignea*...
- LIQUID STORAX
- STORAX
- PEARLS

2. Opium, Tome Pires¹⁹

...it grows in Aden, in Cambay, in the kingdom of Cous, which is on the Bengal mainland. This is a great merchandise and it is customary to eat it in these parts – the kings and lords in portions as big as a hazel-nut; the lower classes eat less because it is expensive. If on top of it they drink anything sour or stimulating, or oil, or coconut water, it kills forthwith. Men accustomed to eat it become drowsy and confused, their eyes go red, and they go out of their senses. They use it because it provokes them to lewdness...

3. A tree with poisonous roots but fruit that cures, Duarte Barbosa²⁰

There are in this country [Delhi] some trees whose roots known as Brachaga are so poisonous that anyone who eats them is killed: the fruit of the same tree known as Miralexi possesses such a virtue that it kills all poison, and gives life to any poisoned man who eats it, even if he eats the roots or any other strong poison.

4. Bezoar, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier²¹

Bezoar comes from a district of the Kingdom of Golkonda, towards the north-east. It is found in the fodder in the paunches of goats which browse on a tree, the name of which I have forgotten. This plant bears little buds, about which, and also on the tips of the branches, which the goats eat, the bezoar concretes in the bellies of these animals. It assumes a form according to the shape of the buds and the ends of the branches, and this is why one finds it in so many different shapes. The peasants, by feeling the belly of the goat, know how many bezoars it contains, and they sell the goat for a price in proportion to the number which are therein. In order to ascertain this, they run both hands under the belly of the goat and beat the paunch along both sides, so that all the stones fall to the middle, and they then estimate exactly, by touch, how many bezoars are in it. The value of bezoars depends on the size, although the small possess no less virtue than the large.

5. Porcupine stone, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier²²

There is still another much esteemed stone which is called the porcupine

stone, which this animal has in its head, and is more efficacious against poison than bezoar. When it is placed to steep in water for a quarter of an hour, the water becomes so bitter that there is nothing in the world to equal it in bitterness. This animal has also sometimes in its belly, a stone which is of the same nature and equally good as that which comes from the head, except with this difference, that it loses nothing of its weight or size by steeping in water, while there is diminution of the other...

6. Snake-stones against poison tested by Archbishop of Goa, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier²³

I shall finally make mention of the snake-stone, which is nearly of the size of a double [doubloon? a Spanish gold coin], some of them tending to an oval shape, being thick in the middle and becoming thin towards the edges. The Indians say that it grows on the heads of certain snakes, but I should rather believe that it is the priests of the idolaters who make them think so, and that this stone is a composition which is made of certain drugs. Whatever it may be, it has an excellent virtue in extracting all the poison when one has been bitten by a poisonous reptile. If the part bitten is not punctured it is necessary to make an incision so that the blood may flow; and when the stone has been applied to it, it does not fall off till it has extracted all the venom which is drawn to it. In order to clean it it is steeped in woman's milk, or, in default of it, in that of a cow; and after having been steeped for ten or twelve hours, the milk, which has absorbed all the venom, assumes the colour of matter. One day, when I dined with the Archbishop of Goa, he took me into his museum, where he had many curiosities. Among other things he showed me one of these stones, and in telling me of its properties assured me that but three days since he had made trial of it, and then he presented it to me. As he traversed a marsh on the island of Salsette, upon which Goa is situated, on his way to a house in the country, one of his pallankeen bearers, who was almost naked, was bitten by a serpent and was at once cured by this stone. I have bought many of them; it is only the Brahmins who sell them, and it is that which makes me think that they make them. You employ two methods to ascertain if the snake-stone is good, and that there is no fraud. The first is by placing the stone in the mouth, for then, if good, it leaps and attaches itself immediately to the palate. The other is to place it in a glass full of water, and immediately, if it is genuine, the water begins to boil, and small bubbles ascend from the stone which is at the bottom, to the top of the water.



Chapter 10

Social Organisation

- A. Varna and Caste
- B. Brahmins
- C. Rajputs, Kshatriyas, Nairs
- D. Baniyas, Khatris
- E. Shudras
- F. Untouchables

A. VARNA AND CASTE

1. Origin of varna as stated in the Vedas, Francois Bernier¹

The *Hindous* then affirm that God, whom they call *Achar*, the Immovable or Immutable, has sent to them four books, to which they give the name of *Beths*, a word signifying science, because, according to them, these books comprehend all the sciences. The first of the books is named *Atherbaben*; the second *Zagerbed*; the third *Rek-bed*; and the fourth *Samabed*. These books enjoin that the people shall be divided, as in fact they are most effectually, into four tribes [Tribus]: first, the tribe of *Brahmens*, or, interpreters of the law; secondly, the tribe of *Quetterys*, or warriors; thirdly, the tribe of *Bescue*, or merchants and tradesmen, commonly called *Banyanes*; and fourthly, the tribe of *Seydra*, or artisans and labourers. These different tribes are not permitted to intermarry, that is to say, a *Brahmen* is forbidden to marry a *Quettery*, and the same injunction holds good in regard to the other tribes.

2. Castes in Calicut, Ludovico Di Varthema²

The first class of pagans in Calicut are called Brahmins. The second are Naeri [Nairs], who are the same as the gentlefolks amongst us; and these are obliged to bear sword and shield or bows or lances. When they go through the street, if they did not carry arms they would no longer be gentlemen. The

third class of pagans are called Tiva [Tiyan], who are artisans. The fourth class are called Mechua [Mukkuvan], and these are fishermen. The fifth class are called Poliar [Pulayan], who collect pepper, wine, and nuts. The sixth class are called Hirava [Vettuvan], and these plant and gather in rice. These two last classes of people, that is to say, the Poliar and Hirava, may not approach either the Naeri or the Bramins within fifty paces, unless they have been called by them, and they always go by private ways through the marshes. And when they pass through the said places, they always go crying out with a loud voice, and this they do in order that they may not meet the Naeri or the Bramins; for should they not be crying out, and any of the Naeri should be going that way and see their fruits, or meet any of the said class, the above mentioned Naeri may kill them without incurring any punishment; and for this reason they always cry out.

3. Heredity and caste, Edward Terry³

As anciently among the Jewes, their priesthood is hereditarie; for every Bramins sonne is a priest, and marries a Bramins daughter. And so among all the Gentiles the men take the daughters of those to bee their wives which are of their fathers tribe, sect, and occupation; for instance, a merchants sonne marries a merchants daughter. And every mans sonne that lives by his labour marries the daughter of him that is of his owne profession; by which meanes they never advance themselves.

4. Multiplicity of castes, Pietro Della Valle⁴

The whole Gentile-people of *India* is divided into many sects or parties of men, known and distinguisht by descent or pedigree, as the Tribes of the Jews sometimes were; yet they inhabit the Country promiscuously mingled together, in every City and Land several Races one with another. 'Tis reckon'd that they are in all eighty four; some say more, making a more exact and subtle division. Everyone of these hath a particular name, and also a special office and Employment in the Commonwealth, from which none of the descendants of that Race ever swerve; they never rise nor fall, nor change condition: whence some are Husbandmen; others Mechanicks, as Taylers, Shoemakers and the like; others Factors or Merchants, such as they whom we call *Banians*, but they in their Language more correctly *Vania*; others, Souldiers, as the *Ragiaputi*; and thus every one attends and is employ'd in the proper Trade of his Family, without any mutation ever hapning amongst them, or Alliance of one Race contracted with another. *Diodorus* and *Strabo* (almost with the same words, as if the one had transcrib'd the other) affirm that anciently the Races of the Indians were seven, each addicted to their proper profession; and for the first of all they place that of the Philosophers, who, no doubt, are the

Brachmans. Into seven kinds of men with their particular, and by Generation perpetuate, Offices, *Herodotus* in like manner writes, (and *Diodorus* confirms it, though he disagrees in the number) the people of *Egypt* was divided in those days; whereby 'tis manifest what correspondence there was between *Egypt* and *India* in all things. Nor do I wonder at the division into seven Races onely, because what is observ'd at this day must then also have hapned, namely that the so many Races which they reckon are reduc'd to four principal, which, if I mistake not, are the Brachmans, the Souldiers, the Merchants and the Artificers; from whom by more minute subdivision all the rest are deriv'd, in such number as in the whole people there are various professions of men.

5. All castes profess same religion but ceremonies differ, Jean de Thevenot⁵

In this Province of *Becar*, and in the two former, there are of all the Castes and Tribes of the *Indians*, which are reckoned in all to be fourscore and four in number. Though all of them profess the same Religion, yet the Ceremonies of everyone of these Castes, nay, and of the private Persons of each Caste, are so different, that they make an infinite number of Sects. The People of every one of these Tribes follow a Trade; and none of their Offspring can quit it, without being reckoned infamous in his Tribe....

Anciently there were no more Tribes but these four; but in succession of time, all those who applied themselves to the same Profession, composed a Tribe or Caste, and that's the reason they are so numerous. The *Colis* or Cotton-dressers have made a distinct Caste: The *Teherons* or Travellers Guards, have theirs: The *Palanquin-bearers* have also made one, and they are called *Covillis* [Kahars or Kolis]: Bow-makers and Fletchers have also made another; as also the Hammer-men, such as Goldsmiths, Armorers, Smiths and Masons. They who work in Wood, as Carpenters, Joyners and Bill-men, are all of one Caste: Publick Wenches, Tumblers, Vaulters, Dancers and Baladins, are of another. And it is the same with Taylors, and other Sheersmen, with Coach-makers and Sadlers: The *Bengiara* [Banjaras, nomadic grain dealers and carriers], who are Carriers, Painters and (in a word) all other Trades-men (artisans)....

6. Freedom of worship to all castes, Jean de Thevenot⁶

All the Castes or Tribes go to their Devotions at the same time; but they adore what Idol they please, without addressing themselves solely to him, to whom the Temple is dedicated, unless their Devotion invite them to do so, in so much that some carry their Idols along with them, when they know that he whom they Worship is not there.

7. Hierarchical order, Jean de Thevenot⁷

The eighty-four Tribes, observe among themselves an Order of Subordination. The *Banians* yield to the *Courmis* [Kurmis, a caste of cultivators, derived from Sanskrit *krishi*, cultivation], the *Courmis* to the *Rajpoutes* or *Catrys*, and these (as all the rest do) to the *Bramens*; and so the *Bramens* are the chief and most dignified of the Gentiles. And therefore it is, that a Bramen would think himself profaned, if he had eaten with a Gentile of another Caste than his own, though those of all other Castes may eat in his House. And so it is with the other Tribes in relation to their inferiours.

8. Castes at Madras, Abbe Carre⁸

There are also on this coast many other kinds of natives, such as Talliars, Malabars (Tamil), Pariahs, Cheriperes, and other castes too numerous to mention. The Talliars, as I have already shown, are bandits, who live quite apart from other men. The Malabars, who are mostly Christians, work on the land and gardens and cultivate trees such as cumquot [a miniature orange], arrack, etc. They are a docile people, hard workers, and very useful to the country. The Pariahs are poor people who do the lowest and hardest work, and are put to all sorts of employment. Besides these there is still a lower caste, the Cheriperes, who are so much beneath the others that they dare not enter into a house, and have no dwellings for themselves and their wives and children but under trees, a little way off in the country. They live, like dogs, on all sorts of things, eating dead beasts and filth of the town thrown into the gutters. The seafaring people are also of two kinds – one called Patnavars, who own large boats called pihlis, used to load merchandise on board ships, the others, called Tuacouas, have only catamarans, which are three pieces of wood tied together; in these two nude men spend all the day in the open sea to catch fish, which abound, on this coast.

Hindus are also distinguished among themselves according to their business and employment. The Chettys are the most important of all merchants. The Comtis are shopkeepers, who sell all sorts of grain, vegetables, spices, butter, oil, and other similar articles. The Pallis are painters, who do the designing and tracing of the first lines in the manufacture of printed calicoes and stuffs. Gavarais are the weavers, who work only with the right hand, and are more esteemed than the other callings, such as the goldsmiths, carpenters, and blacksmiths, who work with the left hand. These last, as well as the Chettys, have an inveterate habit that, if one of them is offended or wronged, all the others shut their shops and abandon all their work and business. Moors are not numerous here and do not mix much with the others. They have lived on this coast only since they chased out the Portuguese [actually they lived on the Coromandel coast at least from the early 14th century], and they are not

liked by the natives of the country, as they are by nature and inclination quite opposed to the Hindu manner of life.

9. Expulsion and re-admission, Giovanni Careri⁹

When anyone is to be Expell'd the Tribe of the *Brachmans, Banians, or Bangasclines*, for some heinous Crime, they take away his Line thus. All that are of the Tribe in that Place meet before the *Boto*, or Priest, and accuse the Criminal of such a Crime. He replies, and if his Defence be not good, the *Boto* takes away his Line, wipes off the *Tilla*, or Colour on his Forehead. Then all the Company falls to chewing of *Betelle*, eating of *Coconuts*, and smoaking Tabacco, without giving the Criminal any; only out of Pity they throw him down on the Ground a Leaf of Tabacco.

If he desires to be again admitted into the Tribe, he must go from House to House, begging Pardon and Absolution of those that Voted, making them sensible of his Resignation, and soothing the *Boto* with the Present of a Cow. This done, he gives all the Tribe a Treat, who receive him again, and the Priest gives him the Line and *Tilla*.

B. BRAHMINS

1. Brahmins of Malabar, strict vegetarians, bear no arms, wives chaste, Tome Pires¹⁰

Brahmans are priests who wear a cord hanging from the left shoulder and under the right arm. This cord is composed of twenty-seven threads, made in three. The best of these people are the Kshatriyas (*Chatrias*); then come the Pattars (*Patadares*) and after these the Nambutiris (*Nambuderis*), and lowest of all come the Nambutiris (*Namburis*). These Brahmins are of very ancient birth. They are of purer blood than the Nayars. It is their duty to be in the *turucois* [temple] praying. They are well versed in the things of their faith. The most important of these Brahmins are the king of Malabar. They are men who do not eat anything which has been living (flesh and) blood; and for this reason the ancients said of them that no person in Malabar should have the power to eat beef on pain of death, and that this would be a great sin... None of them bears arms or goes to war; nor are they ever put to death for any reason whatever. They go freely wherever they like, even if there is war...

2. Brahmin kings of Malabar, Tome Pires¹¹

The kings of Malabar are all Brahmins with these threads, some of them of more noble birth than others; because it is the custom in Malabar that the king's son does not succeed to the kingdom, but his brother or nephew; and

because they are Brahmans and cannot marry Nayars, since that is forbidden, they choose the most honoured Brahmans of that generation to mate with the [king's] sisters, so that the eldest [son] may succeed; and thus the Brahmans sleep with the king's sisters and from them come the kings of Malabar. As the king of Cochin is of pure blood and there is no one on earth whom he can marry, if there are Brahman *Patamares* of Cambay – who were related of old to the Brahman king...these are chosen for the act of generation...

All the Brahmans are married. Their sons inherit their property. The Brahman women are chaste and do not lie with any man but their husbands; and the Brahman woman always remains a Brahman and her children are of unmixed race.

3. The Heathen called Bramenes at Vijayanagar, Duarte Barbosa¹²

Among them is another class of people whom they call Bramenes, who are priests and rulers of their houses of worship. These eat nothing subject to death, they marry only one wife, and if she dies, do not marry again (and their sons inherit all their goods). As a mark of their dignity they wear over their shoulder three linen threads [the sacred thread]. Among them all these men hold the greatest liberties and privileges and are not liable to death for anything whatsoever which they do. The king, the great Lords and men of rank give them much alms on which they live; also many of them have estates while others live in the houses of worship, as in monasteries, which possess good revenues, some are great eaters and never work except to feed well; they will start at once on a "six days' journey" (twenty or twenty-four miles, Ramusio; eight leagues, Spanish) only to get a good bellyful. Their honey and butter, rice, sugar, "stews of" pulse and milk.

4. Brahmins of Gujarat, Duarte Barbosa¹³

These *Bramenes* and Heathen have in their creed many resemblances to the Holy Trinity, and hold in great honour the relation of the Triune Three, and always make their prayers to God, whom they confess and adore as the true God, Creator, and maker of all things, who is three persons and one God, and they say that there are many other gods who are rulers under him, in whom also they believe. These *Bramenes* and Heathen wheresoever they find our churches enter them and make prayers and adorations to our Images, always asking for Santa Maria, like men who have some knowledge and understanding of these matters; and they honour the Church as in our manner, saying that between them and us there is little difference.

5. Brahmans in charge of temples learned men, Domingo Paes¹⁴

These Brahmans are like friars with us, and they count them as holy

men – I speak of the Brahman priests and the lettered men of the pagodas – because although the king [of Vijayanagar] has many Brahmins, they are officers of the towns and cities and belong to the government of them; others are merchants, and others live by their own property and cultivation, and the fruits which grow in their inherited grounds. Those who have charge of the temples are learned men, and eat nothing which suffers death, neither flesh nor fish, nor anything which makes broth red, for they say that it is blood. Some of the other Brahmins whom I mentioned, who seek to serve God, and to do penance, and to live a life like that of the priests, do not eat flesh or fish or any other thing that suffers death, but only vegetables and butter and other things which they make of fruit, with their rice.

Brahmin wives beautiful and retiring

They are all married, and have very beautiful wives; the wives are very retiring, and very seldom leave the house. The women are of light colour, and in the caste of these Brahmins are the fairest men and women that there are in the land; for though there are men in other castes commonly of light complexion, yet these are few. There are many in this country who call themselves Brahmins, but they lead a life very different from those of whom I have spoken, for these last are men to whom the king pays much honour, and he holds them in great favour.

6. Brahmins acute and of much talent, Fernao Nuniz¹⁵

And in this kingdom of Bisnaga there is a class of men, natives of the country, namely Brahmins, who the most part of them never kill or eat any live thing, and these are the best that there are amongst them. They are honest men, given to merchandise, very acute and of much talent, very good at accounts, lean men and well-formed, but little fit for hard work. By these and by the duties they undertake the kingdom is carried on. They believe that there are Three Persons and only One God, and they call the Persons of the Most Holy Trinity 'Tricebemca' [Trimurti, Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh; Vishnu called 'Triyambaka']. There is another class who are Canarese [the people of Canara, that is, residents of the west-coast] who have pagodas in which are (images of?) monkeys, and cows, and buffaloes, and devils, to whom they pay much honour, and these idols and monkeys which they adore they say that in former times this land belonged all to the monkeys [an allusion to Ramayana, Hampi is said to be the birth place of Hanuman and in Ramayana this place along with its surrounding area was ruled by two monkey kings Valin and his younger brother Sugriva], and that in those days they could speak. They have books full of fine stories of chivalry, and many foolish tales about their idols, such as it is out of reason for men to believe. But because of this neither in the

kingdom of Bisnaga nor in all the land of the heathen are any moneys killed and there are so many in this country that they cover the mountains...

King and Brahmins

The King of Bisnaga is a Brahman [here the word 'brahman' denotes 'cultured or learned'; every day he hears the preaching of a learned Brahman, who never married nor even touched a woman; He urges in his preaching (obedience to) the commandments of God, that is to say, that one must not kill any living thing, nor take anything belonging to another, and as with these so with the rest of the commandments. These people have such devotion to cows that they kiss them every day, some they say even on the rump – a thing I do not assert for their honour – and with the droppings of these cows they absolve themselves from their sins as if with holy water. They have for a commandment to confess their sins to the Brahman priests, but they do not do it, except only those who are very religious (*amiguos de Dios*). They give in excuse that they feel a shame to confess themselves to another man, and say that it is sufficient to confess themselves alone after approaching God, for he who does not do so does not acquire grace; thus they fulfil the command in one way or another. But they do it so seldom (in reality that) they (may be said to) neglect this command to confess.

7. Brahmins difficult to convert, Francis Xavier in a letter to The Society of Jesus dated 31 December 1543¹⁶

We have is in these parts a class of men among the pagans who are called Brahmins. They keep up the worship of the gods, the superstitious rites of religion, frequenting the temples and taking care of the idols. They are as perverse and wicked a set as can anywhere be found, and I always apply to them the words of the holy David, "From an unholy race and a wicked and crafty man deliver me, O Lord." They are liars and cheats to the very backbone. Their whole study is how to deceive most cunningly the simplicity and ignorance of the people...All the time I have been here in this country I have only converted one Brahmin...

8. Brahmins cause of non-conversion, Francis Xavier¹⁷

If it were not for the Brahmins, we should have all the heathens embracing our faith.

9. Brahmins in Satgaon, Bengal, Ralph Fitch¹⁸

In these countries they have many strange ceremonies. The Bramanes, which are their priests, come to the water and have a string about their necks made with great ceremonies, and lade up water with both their hands, and

turne the string first with both their hands within, and then one arme after the other out. Though it be never so cold, they will wash themselves in cold water or in warme. These Gentiles will eate no flesh nor kill any thing. They live with rice, butter, milke, and fruits. They pray in the water naked, and dresse their meat and eate it naked, and for their penance they lie flat upon the earth, and rise up and turne themselves about 30 or 40 times, and use to heave up their hands to the sunne, and to kisse the earth, with their armes and legs stretched along out, and their right leg alwayes before the left. Every time they lie downe, they make a score on the ground with their finger, to know when their stint is finished. The Bramanes marke themselves in the foreheads, eares, and throates with a kind of yellow geare which they grind, and every morning they do it. And they have some old men which go in the streetes with a boxe of yellow pouder, and marke men on their heads and necks as they meet them. And their wives do come by 10, 20 and 30 together to the water side singing, and there do wash themselves, and then use their ceremonies, and marke themselves in their foreheads and faces, and cary some with them, and so depart singing. Their daughters be maried at or before the age of 10 yeres. The men may have 7 wives. They be a kind of craftic people, worse then the Jewes. When they salute one another, they heave up their hands to their heads, and say Rame, Rame [Ram].

10. Great esteem of Brahmins, Jan Huygen van Linschoten¹⁹

The *Bramenes* are the honestest and most esteemed Nation among all the *Indian Heathens*: for they doe alwaies serue in the chiefest places about the King, as Receivers, Stewards, Ambassadors, and such like Offices. They are likewise the Priests and Ministers of the *Pagode*, or deuilish Idols. They are of great authoritie among the *Indian* people, for that the King doth nothing without their counsell and consent, and that they may bee knowne from other men, they weare vpon their naked bodie, from the shoulder crosse under the arm over their bodie downe to the girdle, or the cloth that is wrapped about their middle, three or foure strings like sealing thread, whereby they are knowne: which they neuer put off although it should cost them their liues, for their Profession and Religion will not permit it. They goe naked, sauing onely that they have a cloth bound about their middles. They weare sometimes when they goe abroad, a thinne cotton linnen Gowne called *Cabaia*, lightly cast ouer their shoulders, and hanging downe to the ground like some other *Indians*, as *Benianes Gusarates*, and *Decanyns*. Vpon their heads they weare a white cloth, wound twice or thrice about, therewith to hide their haire, which they neuer cut off, but weare it long and turned vp as the women doe. They haue most commonly round rings of gold hanging at their eares, as most of the *Indians* have. They eate not any thing that hathlife, but feed themselves with

herbes and Rice, neither yet when they are sick will for any thing be let bload, but heale themselues by herbes and ointments, and by rubbing their bodies with Sanders, and such like sweet woods. In Goa and the Sea coasts there are many *Bramenes*, which commonly doe maintayne themselues with selling of Spices and other Apothecarie ware, but it is not so cleane as others, but full of garbish and dust. They are very subtile in writing and casting accounts, whereby they make other simple Indians beleue what they will.

11. Brahmins highly esteemed, Rev. Samuel Purchas²⁰

They are of such estimation, that if Merchants trauell among theeuues and robbers, one Bramene in the companie secureth them all: which Bramene will eate nothing of another mans dressing; and would not become a Moore for a Kingdome.

12. Jesuits think them of the tribe of Israelis, Rev. Samuel Purchas²¹

The Iesuites conceiue that these Bremenes are of the dispersion of the Israelites, and their Books (called *Samescretan*) doe somewhat agree with the Scriptures, but that they vnderstand them not.

13. Brahmins and philosophy, Edward Terry²²

Some Bramins have told me how that they acknowledge one God, whom they describe with a thousand hands, with a thousand feete, and as many eyes, thereby expressing his power. They talke of four books, which about six thousand yeeres since were sent them from God by their prophet Ram; whereof two were sealed up and might not be opened; the other to be read onely by themselves. They say that there are seven orbes, above which is the seate of God: that God knowes not petie things, or, if He doe, regards them not. They circumscribe God unto place, saying that He may be seene, but as in a mist afarre off, not neere. They beleeve that there are devils, but so bound in chaines that they cannot hurt them. They call a man Adam [Hind. *admi*], from our first father Adam, whose wife, tempted with the forbidden fruit, tooke it (as they say) and eate it downe; but as her husband swallowed it, the hand of God stopped it in his throat; whence man hath a bunch there, which women have not, called by them Adams apple.

14. Brahmins good at astronomy, Francisco Pelsaert²³

Some of the brahmins are very ingenious, good astronomers, familiar with the course of the stars, and usually prepared to foretell the weather. They reckon eclipses very clearly, and they also do a great deal of fortune-telling. There are usually one or two such men with a great reputation in the city; indeed the present King generally kept one at Court, whose prophecies,

or most of them, proved quite accurate. The brahmans have consequently secured a great reputation, and they have now acquired such influence over the great men, and then over all the Moslems, that they will not undertake a journey until they have enquired what day or hour is auspicious for the start; and when they return from a journey, or come to take up an appointment, they will not enter the city until the suitable day or hour has been predicted, and then they wait until the exact moment has arrived: The result is that many of this rabble now frequent the streets, book in hand, to tell men their fortune, and, though their predictions have little value, they are believed by the poor, for they always get excellent measure, and their questions are met with ambiguous replies.

15. Brahmins at Cambay and Pythagoras, Pietro Della Valle²⁴

After having seen the Temple of *Mahavir* we went to visit an old Brachman, accounted very learned amongst them, with whom we discours'd as well as we could by an interpreter, because he understood no other Language but the *Indian*. We found him amongst many Scholars, to whom he was giving a Lecture. He shew'd us his Books written in an antique Character, which is the learned amongst them, not common to the vulgar, but known onely to the learned, and us'd by the Brachmans, who, in distinction from other vulgar Characters us'd variously in sundry Provinces of *India*, call it *Nagheri*. I have and shall carry with me two small Books of it which I sometime bought in *Lar* [capital of Laristan in Persia]. This Brachman is call'd *Beca Azarg*; of which words *Beca* is his proper Name and *Azarg* his Title of Honour.

Amongst other Books he shew'd us that of their sect, in which, though it was bound long ways, as 'tis the fashion of their Books, yet the lines were written across the paper, after the manner of some of our Musick-Books. He affirm'd to us for certain that it was a work of *Pythagoras*, which well agreeth with what *Philostratus* saith that *Jarchas* told *Apollonius*, namely that the Indians believ'd the same concerning the soul which *Pythagoras* had taught them, and they the *Aegyptians*; which is quite contrary to what I said before was my opinion as to which of these two Nations first taught the other. But *Diogenes Laertius* [lived around 200A.D.], who writes *Pythagoras's* Life copiously enough, making mention of his going into Aegypt, and how he convers'd likewise with the *Chaldaens* and *Magi*, yet speaks not a word that ever he went into *India*, or had communication with the Brachmans. Wherefore, if *Pythagoras* taught anything to the *Indians*, as *Jarchas* said, he did it not in person, but by his books, which possibly were carry'd into *India*. Moreover *Beca Azarg* added that their *Brachma*, esteemed one of the chief among their false Gods, (from whom they are denominated Brachmans) is all one with *Pythagoras*: a curious notion indeed, and which perhaps would be news to

hear in *Europe*, that *Pythagoras* is foolishly ador'd in *India* for a God. But this, with *Beca Azarg*'s good leave, I do not believe; either he did not expressly speak thus, and by the fault of the Interpreters we did not understand him aright; or, if he did affirm it, perhaps he came to be mistaken by having heard *Pythagoras* nam'd by some Europeans for the author of that foolish opinion of the Transmigration of Souls. Be it as it will, I cannot believe that *Pythagoras* and *Brachma* are all one; because though *Pythagoras* be very ancient, for he flourished in the Consulship of *Brutus* who expell'd the Kings out of *Rome*, yet I hold the Rites and opinions of the Brachmans much more ancient. For when *Diodorus* relates the contest of the two Wives of *Ceteus*, an Indian Captain in the Army of *Eumenes*, each of whom would be burnt with her Husband slain in battel, speaking of the Laws, Customs and Rites of the *Indians*, he calls them, even at that time, Ancient things. And though *Pythagoras* and the Consulship of *Brutus* may precede not onely *Eumenes*, who was one of *Alexander* the Great's successors, but *Alexander* himself, by about two ages, according to the Chronology of *Bellarmino*, which to me seems good enough, yet the space of two hundred years, or somewhat more, is not such as that those things may be call'd Ancient which had their beginning within so short a term; as it should be infallibly if *Pythagoras*, whom they take to be their *Brachma*, were the first Author to the Indians of their Learning, and consequently of their Rites, Customs and Laws.

16. Brahmins bear no ill will towards other faiths, Pietro Della Valle²⁵

'Tis true the Brachmans, who amongst the Indians, in my opinion, much resemble the Levites of the Jews, are divided too into several sorts, one more noble than another, and, according to nobility, more rigorous also in manner of eating, and in their other superstitious Ceremonies; for some of them are Astrologers, some Physicians, some Secretaries of Princes; and so of other sorts of scholars which I know not well; but the most esteem'd and most sublime amongst the Brachmans, and consequently the most rigorous of all in point of eating and other observances, are those who perform the Office of Priests, whom they call *Boti*. Ordinarily they never admit into their Sect any man of another Religion; nor do they think that they do ill herein, or contrary to the zeal of saving Souls, since, believing the Transmigration, they conceive it not necessary to Salvation to change Religion, although one be of a false Sect, but judge that if this Soul shall be worthy to have pardon from God, it shall after death, and after being purg'd sundry ways, pass into and be born in the body of some Indian amongst them, and live excellently, and so by this way at last arrive at Paradise and live with God, although in the beginning it was in the world in the body of the worst sinner and miscreant what ever. With people of other Religion they never eat nor will have any communication

of food, and as much as possible they avoid even to touch them; conceiving themselves polluted by communication with others...

17. Jesuit debate on the sacred thread, Pietro Della Valle²⁶

There was a long dispute in *India* between the Jesuits and other Fathers, whether this fillet, which the *Portugals* call *Linha*, was a badge of Religion, or onely an ensign of piety, and whether it was to be permitted or not to Indian Converts, who were very loth to lay it aside. Much hath been said and with great contest by both parties, and at length the cause is carried to *Rome*, and I was inform'd of it two or three years ago in *Persia*. For I remember Sig. *Matteo Galvano Gudigno*, a Canon and Kinsman to the then Archbishop of *Goa*, passed by *Spahan*, and continu'd there many days; being sent by the same Archbishop, who favour'd the side contrary to the Jesuits, purposely to *Rome* with many writings touching this affair, which he out of courtesie communicated to me. I know not whether the final determination of it be yet come from *Rome*; some say it is, and in favour of the Jesuits: but at *Goa* we shall know these things better. The truth is, the Jesuits prove, (on one side) that the honour of wearing this Ribbon is frequently granted not onely to the Indians, but also to strangers of different Nation and Sect; as to Mahometans, who (by condescension of that King who among the Indians hath authority to do it, as Head of their Sect in *Spirituals*) have in recompence of great and honourable services enjoy'd this priviledge, without becoming Gentiles, or changing their Religion, but still persisting to live Mahometans; which indeed is a strong Argument.

On the other side, they prove that many Brachmans and others of the Race priviledg'd to wear it, intending to lead a stricter life, and abandon the world by living almost like Hermits, amongst other things, in humility lay aside this Ribban, being a token of Nobility; which 'tis not likely they would do if it were a Cognizance of Religion; yea, they would wear it the more.

18. Brahmins cultured, Philipp Baldaeus²⁷

[They are] as modest in their deportment as could be wished...sober, alert, clean, civil, and friendly and very moderate in eating and drinking and never touch any strong drink.

19. Brahmins most noble of all, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier²⁸

The first caste is that of the Brahmins, the successors of the ancient Brahmanes or philosophers of India, who specially studied astrology. Their ancient books, in the reading of which the Brahmins generally occupy themselves, still exist and they are so skilled in their observations that they do not make a mistake of a minute in foretelling eclipses of the sun and moon. In order to preserve this science among themselves, they have a kind of university

in a town called Benares, where they study astrology principally, but they also have doctors who teach the Law, which is observed with very great strictness. This caste is the most noble of all, because it is from among the Brahmans that the priests and ministers of the law are selected. But as they are very numerous and cannot all study in their university, the majority of them are ignorant and consequently very superstitious, those who pass as the most intellectual being the most arrant sorcerers.

**20. Brahmins at Banaras, fill Ganges water in small pots to take away,
Jean-Baptiste Tavernier²⁹**

Every day large numbers of these Brahmans are to be seen going to the clearest part of the river to fill round, small-mouthed, earthen pots, which hold about a bucketful, with this water. When they are full they are taken to the chief priest, who directs the mouth to be covered with a very fine cloth of fire-colour, in three or four folds, upon which he applies his seal. The Brahmans carry this water at the end of a stick, flat like a lath, from which hang six small cords, and to each of them one of these pots is attached. They rest themselves by changing the shoulder frequently, and they sometimes travel three or four hundred leagues of country with this load, and then sell it, or make a present of it, but only to the richest persons, from whom they expect a liberal reward. Some of these idolaters, when they celebrate any festival especially when their children are married drink this water at a cost of 400 or 500 ecus. It is drunk only at the end of the repast, as we drink hypocras or muscat in Europe, each guest receiving a cup, or two, according to the liberality of the host.

21. Brahmins and Vedas, Abraham Roger³⁰

[The main prerogative of the brahmins is reading the Veda] which is the pagans' book of the law, which includes, in itself, all they must believe and all the rituals they must observe. This book is written in the samscrtam language: all the mysteries of paganism are written in this language, and the Brahmans, who have no intention of involving themselves in commerce, learn it.

22. Brahmins as cooks, Niccolao Manucci³¹

The Brahmans, according to their view, are the noblest family of all mankind, and the one most venerated, not merely as superiors, but as gods. Other castes cannot wait on them or fetch them water, nor cook for them. They must wait upon each other for these two purposes, or do it each for himself. With all that, however, they may carry water and cook for the other castes, which appears a moral contradiction, for if it dishonors them to be served by others, how can they be servants to others?

When Brahmins cook for another caste they act as follows: after having cooked the food, they bring it in brass or copper vessels to the house where it is to be eaten – that is, of the man who have given the order. Not being a Brahman, he cannot enter the kitchen, nor inspect the pots in which the food is being cooked. The food having been brought, it is laid out upon leaves, or on copper or brass vessels made like dishes. Having helped the food, the Brahmins do the waiting until the end of the repast. Then they and the master and his guests, if any, come out, and the Brahmins throw water over the eaters' hands and feet; but they do not clear away what has not been eaten, for that would be a dishonor and a disgrace beyond repair. To remove the unused food it is necessary to have another man who is not a Brahman, and if there is none such, he who has eaten must himself remove the leavings, along with the leaf or dish from which he has eaten, and afterwards cleanse the house in the way already described.

23. Brahmins of Malabar, Manuel Godinho³²

As priests and monks of the gentiles, the brahmins are dedicated to the cult and service of their idols and, hence, they are highly regarded by all. They live in palm groves and in cool woods which abound in India. They eat neither meat nor fish nor anything that has the colour of blood. That is why they do not eat red spinach as it releases a red liquid. They live on herbs, butter, milk, rice and legumes and their normal meals consist of a diet which makes them healthy and seldom ill. They never bleed themselves even if necessary in case of illness, but take the bleeding in the mouth, doing *langana*, which means pure abstinence, until the fever leaves them. In the mornings, at dinner and supper times they wash their whole body, and without this ablution they will not eat anything. For this reason they never put to sea and those who do so belong to a caste called Bangassali, held in lesser account, but even these at the appropriate times draw water from the sea and wash themselves with sea water, since neglecting these ablutions is considered a great sin.

They carry around their necks a string of beads, made of some rugged fruits, without a cross at the end, and when counting the beads they only say Rama, Rama, which is the name of their most beloved idol. They carry no weapon, either offensive or defensive, since they neither kill, nor injure, nor draw blood of any living thing, but, on the contrary, they are bound at all cost to protect the life of any animal who runs the risk of losing it. Hence it happens that some boys catch a bird and go with it to the brahmin and say to him: if you do not give me this much I will kill this bird. The brahmin, fearing that he may be held responsible for the bloodshed, gives the boy what he wants and leaves the bird to fly away. There will never be a cat in a brahmin's house, lest it may kill a rat. There are in India some brahmin doctors, called

pundits, who, since they treat the Portuguese in our fashion, prescribe a diet of chicken, whenever necessary, but at the end of the year they go to their most famous temples, in order to atone for their sins, with large sums of money which they give to the brahmins of those temples. If they fail to go or to give, they are considered as murderers and homicides and perhaps turned out of the caste which is the greatest punishment... If a brahmin cannot escape death without killing the snake which is about to bite him, he must rather die than kill it.

Brahmin intellect

In sharpness of intellect, they are superior to all other types of people in the East. There is hardly any nobleman or a prince, both Hindu and Muslim, who does not rule through a brahmin, always having him by his side as a favourite. They are the tutors of princes, squires of noblemen and confidants of kings. Nowhere else in India are they as respected or so powerful as in Malabar, which has not yet been dominated by the Muslims and where all the realms are of the gentiles who venerate the brahmins. Many of them are monarchs like the rulers of Porakad, Cochin, Marta and Alengad and several others in the hinterland of Malabar, on the mountains called the Ghats.

24. Brahmins and Gymnosopists, Jean de Thevenot³³

The *Bramens*, who are properly the *Brahmanes* or *Sages* of the Ancient *Indians*, and the *Gymnosopists* of *Porphyrius* [a Greek neo-Platonist of the 3rd century A.D], are the Priests and Doctors of the Heathen in India. Besides Theologie (which they profess) they understand Astrology, Arithmetick and Medicine; but they who are actually Physicians, pay yearly a certain Tribute to their Caste, because Physick ought not to be their Profession. All these Gentiles have a respect for the *Bramens*; and they believe them in all things, because they have been always told that God sent the four *Bets* [Vedas] to them, which are the Books of their Religion, and that they are the keepers of them.

25. Brahmins and Janaeu, Giovanni Careri³⁴

The Priesthood among them is Hereditary, as it was formerly among the Jews; for, as was said before, when a *Brachman* Marries, he must take the Daughter of another *Brachman*. They are distinguishable from all other Gentils, by a String or Rope made of three Threads of new Cotton, which they wear hanging about their Neck, and wound about the left Arm. It is put upon Boys of Nine, or Ten Years of Age with great Solemnity, but never upon Girls. This String or Line is to signify the Unity of God in three Persons, which they call *Brama*, *Vistu*, and *Mayessu*. They will never Eat a Bit without they have it on;

and some of them have been known to Fast several Days, because their Rope broke before they could get another of the Priests.

C. RAJPUTS, KSHATRIYAS, NAIRS

1. Reverence for Rana of Mewar, William Finch³⁵

...the...Rana [is] a very powerfull Rajaw, whom neither Potan [Pathan] or the Acabar [Akbar] himselfe could ever subdue; which comes to passe by reason that all India hath beene Gentiles and this prince hath bin and still is esteemed in like reverence by them as the Pope of Rome by the Papists. And for this cause the Rajaws which have been sent against him frame some excuses that they may not indamage much his territories, which extend hence amongst Amadaver way an hundred and fifty great corses, and in breadth toward Ougen [Ujjain] 200 c., inclosed for the most part with inaccessible mountaines and fortified well by art in places accessible.

2. Rajputs feared as soldiers, Francisco Pelsaert³⁶

Another class of Hindus is named Rajput. These men live in the hill-country, and are excellent soldiers, but many of them have nevertheless been brought into subjection by this King and his father, owing to the fact that the land is divided into small portions, and each Raja or King has only a small territory, so that continuous hard fighting went on among themselves. Each Raja had only a single fort or city, which protected the open country belonging to him. They are bold and courageous people, determined and loyal. The men are short in stature and ugly. Mounted or on foot, they have no weapon other than a short spear, with shield, sword, and dagger, but they are slow to retreat in a fight, and are obstinate in attack, because the quantity of opium they eat excites them, and causes them to care little for their lives. They eat all kinds of meat except beef and drink wine. In war time the race is much esteemed, and is feared by the other classes of soldiers, but during peace they get the cold shoulder, because in palaces or camps they make less show or display than the Moguls or Hindustanis.

3. Lack of unity made them Mughal subordinates, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier³⁷

The second caste is that of the Rajputs or Ketris, i.e. warriors and soldiers. These are the only idolaters who are brave, and distinguish themselves in the profession of arms. All the Rajas, of whom I have often spoken, are of this caste. They are like so many petty kings, whose disunion has made them tributaries to the Great Mogul; but as the majority are in his service, they are

highly recompensed for the small tribute which they pay him by the large and honourable salaries which they receive from him. These Rajas, and the Rajputs their subjects, are the most firm supports of the Great Mogul's kingdom; and it was the Rajas Jaisingh and Jaswantsingh who placed Aurangzeb on the throne. But it should be remarked that this second caste does not exclusively consist of people who follow arms as a profession. It is only the Rajputs who go to war, and who are all cavaliers; but as for the Ketris they have degenerated from the bravery of their ancestors, having quitted arms for merchandise.

4. Mewar Ranas belong to the race of Porus, Jean de Thevenot³⁸

The Town of *Chitor* is very famous also, but it is almost ruined; it belonged to *Raja-Ranas*, who deduced his Genealogie from King *Porus* [they claimed descent from Lord Rama]; though that *Raja* had considerable Territories, and strong, by reason of the Mountains that almost encompassed them; yet could he not avoid the misfortune of other Princes, but fell (as they did) under the power of the *Moguls*, in the Reign of King *Ecar*.

NAIRS

5. Fighters, Tome Pires³⁹

There must be a hundred and fifty thousand Nayars (*Naires*) in Malabar. They are fighters, with sword and buckler, and archers. They are men who adore their king, and if by chance the king dies in battle they are obliged to die, and if they do not they go against the custom of their country and they are made a reproach for ever. The Nayars are loyal and not traitors. Before a king of Malabar fights with another, he has first to let him know, so that he may prepare himself. That is their custom. No Nayar, when he is fit to take up arms, can go outside his house unarmed even if he be a hundred years old, and when he is dying he always has his sword and buckler by him, so close that if necessary he can take hold of them.

6. Do not marry, Tome Pires⁴⁰

None of the Nayars has either father or son. They do not marry. The more lovers the Nayar woman has, the more important she is. So if a Nayar woman has a daughter, or two or three, she chooses a Nayar for her while she is a virgin, and he marries her. For the deflowering they make a feast, for which the Nayar pays according to his means; and he stays with her for four days, and as a sign that he has deflowered her he places a small piece of gold round her neck, worth about thirty *reis*, called *quete*. This man goes, and other Nayars come; and they arrange among themselves – one gives her one thing,

and one another, and the more she has the more honoured she is. And the Nayars are also put to expense with other women. For the most part the Nayars do not eat in the women's houses. And that is why no Nayar has ever had father or son, because each woman has from two to ten known (lovers), which is accounted a merit in her. There are also Nayars who sell oil and fish, and many are craftsmen.

7. Nairs claim descent from Sun, Jean de Thevenot⁴¹

These *Naires* or Gentlemen we have been speaking of, have a great conceit of their Nobility, because they fancy themselves descended from the Sun; they give place to none but the *Portuguese*, and that precedence cost Blood...

The *Naires* have several degrees Nobility amongst them, and the inferior make no difficulty to give place to those that are above them.

8. Nairs consult deity before battles, Giovanni Careri⁴²

These *Naires* are great Wizards, nor do they ever Expose themselves to any Feats of Arms, without first consulting the Devil. To this purpose they let their Hair fly, and draw some Blood out of their Forehead with a Knife; then Dancing to the Musick of a Drum, they call him aloud, and he comes to Advise them whether they had best engage their Enemy. But when the Enemy repents he gave the Challenge, and makes a Sign to beg Peace, they easily grant it.

D. BANIYAS

1. Baniyas of Gujarat, extreme commitment to Ahimsa, Duarte Barbosa⁴³

This people eats neither flesh nor fish, nor anything subject to death; they slay nothing, nor are they willing even to see the slaughter of any animal; and thus they maintain their idolatry and hold it so firmly that it is a terrible thing. For often it is so that the Moors take to them live insects or small birds, and make as though to kill them in their presence, and the *Baneanes* buy these and ransom them, paying much more than they are worth, so that they may save their lives and let them go. And if the King or a Governor of the land any man condemned to death, for any crime which he has committed, they gather themselves together and buy him from justice, if they are willing to sell him, that he may not die. And divers Moorish mendicants as well, when they wish to obtain alms from this people, take great stones wherewith they beat upon their shoulders and bellies as though they would slay themselves before them, to hinder which they give them great alms that they

may depart in peace. Others carry knives with which they slash their arms and legs, and to these too they give large alms that they may not kill themselves. Others go to their doors seeking to kill rats and snakes for them, and to them also they give much money that they may not do so. Thus they are much esteemed by the Moors.

When these *Baneanes* meet with a swarm of ants on the road, they shrink back and seek for some way to pass without crushing them. And in their houses they sup by daylight, for neither by night nor by day will they light a lamp, by reason of certain little flies which perish in the flame thereof; and if there is any great need of a light they have a lantern of varnished paper or cloth, so that no living thing may find its way in and die in the flame. And if these men breed many lice they kill them not, but when they trouble them too much they send to certain men, also Heathen, who live among them, also Gentiles and whom they hold to be men of a holy life; they are like hermits living with great abstinence through devotion to their gods. These men louse them, and as many lice as they catch they place on their own heads and breed them on their own flesh, by which they say they do great service to their Idol. Thus one and all they maintain with great self-restraint their law of not killing.

2. Skilled bankers, traders, merchants, teach business early to their children, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier⁴⁴

The third caste is that of the Banians who attach themselves to trade, some being Shroffs, i.e. money-changers or bankers, and the others brokers, by whose agency the merchants buy and sell. The members of this caste are so subtle and skilful in trade that, as I have elsewhere said, they could give lessons to the most cunning Jews. They accustom their children at an early age to shun slothfulness, and instead of letting them go into the streets to lose their time at play, as we generally allow ours, teach them arithmetic, which they learn perfectly, using for it neither pen nor counters, but the memory alone, so that in a moment they will do a sum, however difficult it may be. They are always with their fathers, who instruct them in trade, and do nothing without at the same time explaining it to them. These are the figures which they use in their books, both in the Empire of the Great Mogul, as well as in other parts of India, although the languages may vary. If anyone gets in a rage with them they listen with patience, without replying, and withdraw coldly, not returning to see him for four or five days, when they anticipate his rage will be over. They never eat anything which has enjoyed sentient life, and they would rather die than slay the least animal, not even excepting an insect or vermin, being in this respect very zealous observers of their Law. It is sufficient to add that they never strike one another, and that they never go to war, and can neither eat nor drink in the houses of the Rajputs, because they

slay animals and eat meat, with the exception of that of the cow, which is never eaten.

3. Baniyas of Surat, abstemious existence, Manuel Godinho⁴⁵

They sleep on the ground, on the bare earth, without any bedding; throughout their lives they subsist only on rice and butter and do not touch either fish or meat; they wear coarse saffron coloured cloth which covers only a part of their bodies; barefooted, bareheaded and with a staff in hand, they are always found in pairs, like monks. They remain chaste, live on alms, accompany the dead and adopt this way of life for a few years. Twice a day they go to the river together, as a community, each with a pot full of water which they consider holy. The rest of the time they spend praying in their fashion and recounting their fables to those willing to listen to them. They are controlled by their provincials and other local superiors.

4. Baniyas of Multan, operate on low profit margins, Jean de Thevenot⁴⁶

They are all Merchants and Broakers, and are so expert in business, that hardly any body can be without them, They give them commissions of all kinds though it be known that they make their profit of every thing, yet Men chuse rather to make use of them, than to do their business themselves; and I found often by experience, that I had what they bought for me, much cheaper, than what I bought myself, or made my servants buy. They are of a pleasing humour, for they reject no service, whether honourable or base, and are always ready to satisfie those who employ them; and therefore everyone hath his *Banian* in the *Indies*, and some persons of Quality intrust them with all they have, though they be not ignorant of their Hypocrisie and Avarice. The richest Merchants of the *Indies* are of them and such I have met with in all places where I have been in that Country. They are commonly very Jealous of their Wives, who at *Multan* are fairer than the Men, but still of a very brown complexion, and love to Paint.

5. Khatri of Multan, Jean de Thevenot⁴⁷

At *Multan* there is another sort of Gentiles, whom they call *Catry* [Khatri]. That Town is properly their Country, and from thence they spread all over the *Indies*...

6. Baniyas of Surat, J. Ovington⁴⁸

Next to the *Moors* the *Bannians* are the most noted Inhabitants at *Suratt*, who are Merchants all by Profession, and very numerous in all parts of *India*. They are most innocent and obsequious, humble and patient to a Miracle;

sometimes they are heated into harsh Expressions to one another, which is seldom; and this Tongue-Tempest is term'd there a *Bannian* Fight, for it never rises to Blows or Blood-shed...

They are mainly addicted to prosecute their Temporal Interest, and the amassing of Treasure; and therefore will fly at the securing of a Pice, tho' they can command whole Lacks of Roupies. I know those among them computed to be worth an Hundred Thousand Pounds, whose Service the Prospect of Sixpence Advantage will command to traverse the whole City of *Suratt*. For they are always upon the Thoughts of increasing their Wealth, and plodding for Gain, which they lat hold on upon the least occasion, tho' by never so minute and inconsiderable Advantage.

7. Baniyas live to a good age, quick of thought, J. Ovington⁴⁹

Under their abstemious mortifying Diet, the *Bannians* maintain as good a Habit of Body, are as comly and proportionable as other People, and live to reckon as many Years as those that pity their spare Food. But in their Thoughts they are often more quick and nimble, by that course of living they chuse to delight in, which renders their Spirits more pure and subtle, and thereby greatly facilitates their Comprehension of things. Besides, this Religious abstinence very much disengages their Affections to the World, disintangles their fears of Death, and Passions for these momentary things; it sets their Spirits upon the Wing, ready without reluctance to quit this Life, in expection of a better; and makes many of them pass as chearfully into the invisible World, as they would take a Journey from their own Kingdom to another Country.

8. Wealth of Baniyas, J. Ovington⁵⁰

Their Wealth consists only in Cash and Jewels...and that they preserve as close and private as they can, lest the *Mogul's* Exchequer shou'd be made their Treasury. This curbs them in their Expenses, and awes them to great secrerie in their Commerce, especially in their receiving, or Payments of Money, for which they either make use of the darkness of the Night, or of the obscurity of the Morning, in conveying it to the place of Payment.

9. Baniya women richly attired, J. Ovington⁵¹

Their main Cost is expended upon their Women, who ambitiously affect a Gayety in their Dress and Cloathing. Jewels and Ornaments are the very joy of their Hearts, (as they usually call them) with which they are deckt from the Crown of the Head to the very feet.

E. SHUDRAS

Serve as foot soldiers, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier⁵²

The fourth caste is called Charados or Soudra. Like that of the Rajputs, it occupies itself with war; but with this difference, that the Rajputs serve on horse, and the Sudras on foot. Both glory in dying in battle, and a soldier, whether of the cavalry or foot, is esteemed for ever infamous if, in the moment of combat, he runs away. It is regarded as an eternal disgrace in his family...

F. UNTOUCHABLES

1. Poleaa, Beituaas, Mainates, Yravas, Canjares, Canacos, Irava and Pareos of Malabar, son inherits father's property, each man has one wife, Tome Pires⁵³

The lowest caste are the Parayans (*pareos*) who eat cows' flesh. They are lettered men and sorcerers. The Pulayans work in the fields and so do the Vettuvans (*beituaas*); the Vannathamars (*mainates*) are washermen; the Yravas are stone-masons; the Pulayans play music in the *turucoes* or at feasts; the *Canjares* dance in the temples and pagodas; the Mukkuvans are fishermen; the Kaniyans (*canacos*) make salt; and in addition to these there are carpenters, goldsmiths and craftsmen of all kinds; and then there are the *Irava* men who make wine. None of these may go along the roads frequented by the Nayars... in case of need – such as war or sickness – and in fencing and jousts for sword and lance, the Nayars and the King may touch them, and wash themselves and be clean... In all these castes the son inherits his father's property, and each man is married to one woman.

2. Panchamas engage in mechanical work, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier⁵⁴

The remainder of the people, who do not belong to either of these four castes, are called Pauzecour. They all occupy themselves with mechanical arts, and do not differ from one another except in the trades which they follow from father to son; so that a tailor, although he may be rich, is unable to advance his children, except in his own calling, nor to marry them, be it a son or a daughter, to others than those of his trade. So also when a tailor dies all those of his calling go to the place where his body is burnt, and the same custom is observed among all the other artisans.

Among the special castes there is one that is called Halalkhor, who engage only in cleaning houses, each house paying them something monthly; according to its size. If a man of quality in India, whether a Musalman or an idolater, has fifty servants, not one of them will use a broom to clean the house, for he

would consider himself contaminated by it, and one of the greatest insults that one can do to a man in India is to call him Halalkhor. It is proper to remark here that each of these servants has his own special duty, the one to carry the vessel of water for drinking by the way, another to have the pipe of tobacco ready, and if the master asks one to perform the service for which the other is employed, that service will not be performed, and the servant remains as though he were immovable. As for slaves, they have to do whatever their master orders. As the caste of Halalkhors is only occupied in removing the refuse from houses, it gets the remains of what the others eat, of whatever caste they may be, and it does not make any scruple about eating indifferently of all things. It is the people belonging to this caste alone, who make use of asses, to carry the sweepings from the houses to the fields; while all other Indians will not touch this animal. It is otherwise in Persia, where asses are used both for baggage and for riding. It is also the Halalkhors in India who alone feed pigs and use them for food.

3. Pariahs, Dhed, Halalkhor in Berar, Jean de Thevenot⁵⁵

The least esteemed of all the eighty four Tribes, are the *Periaves* [Pariahs] and the *Der* [Dhed, scavenger], or *Halalcour* [Halalkhor, sweepers, they deemed every food halal, lawful], because of their nastiness (dirtiness) and they who touch them, think themselves unclean. The *Periaves* are employed in taking off, and carrying away the Skins of Beasts, and some of them are Curriers [leather-workers]. The *Halalcour* are the Gold-finders of the Towns [scavengers]; they make clean the publick and private Houses of Office, and are payed for it Monthly; they feed on all sort of Meats prohibited or not prohibited; they eat others leavings without considering what Religion or Caste they are of: And that's the reason why those who only speak *Persian* in the *Indies*, call them *Halalcour*; (that's to say) He that takes the liberty to eat what he pleases; or according to others, He that eats what he has honestly got. And they who approve this last Application, say, that heretofore the *Halalcour* were called *Haramcour*, eaters of prohibited Meats: (But that a King one day hearing his Courtiers Jear them, because of their nasty [dirty] Trade, said to them, since these People gain their Bread better than you, who are lazy lubbards, their name of *Haramcour* ought to be given to you, and to them that of *Halalcour*). And that they have retained that name.

4. Poleas at Calicut, Jean de Thevenot⁵⁶

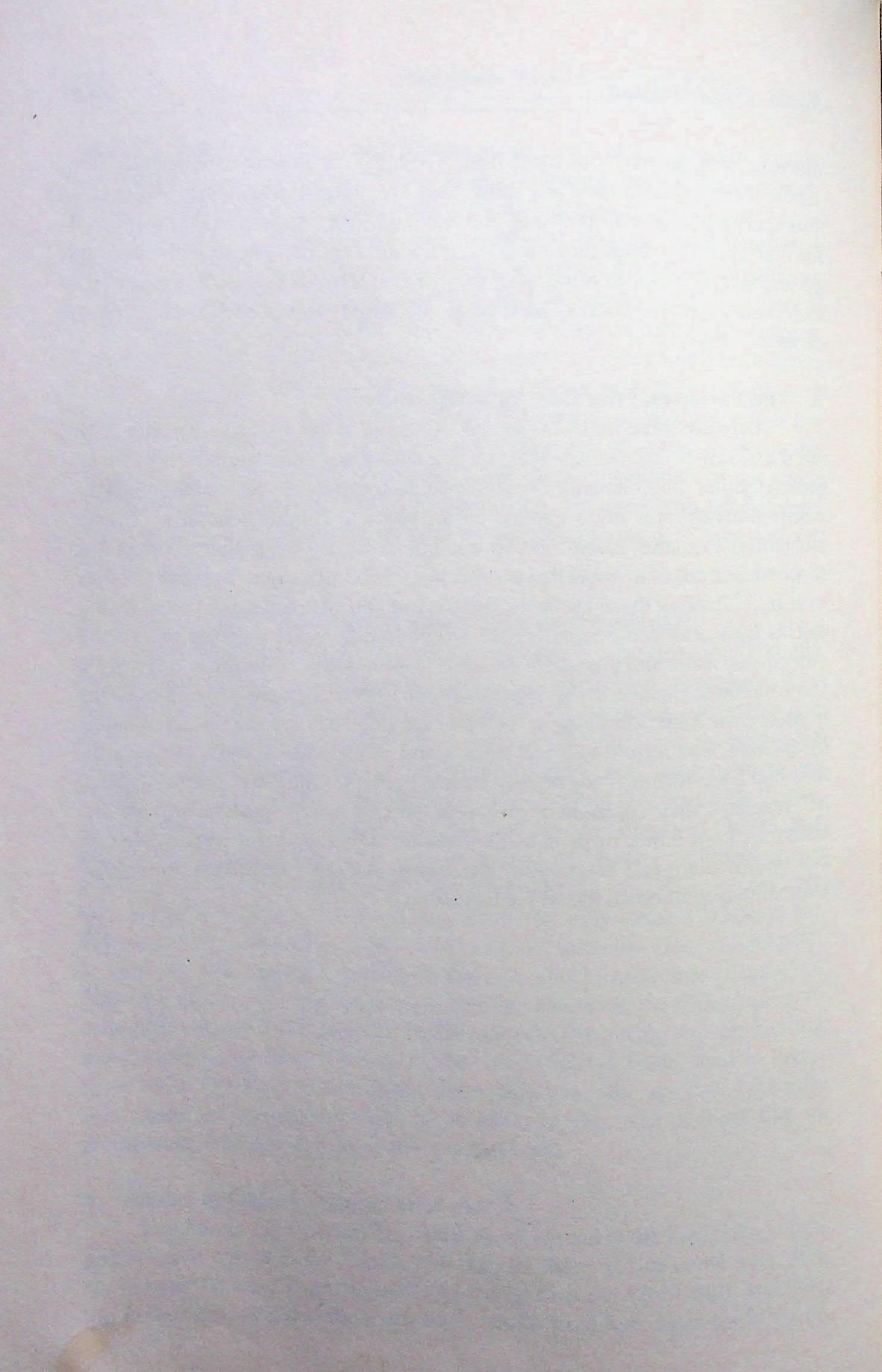
The *Poleas* cry incessantly when they are abroad in the Fields *Popo* [go, go], to give notice to the *Naires* who may be there, not to come near. If a *Naire* hear the word *Popo*, he answers (crying) *Coucouya* [hoi, hoi], and then the *Poleas* knowing that there is a *Naire* not far from him, turns aside out of

the way, that he may not meet him. Seeing these *Poleas* cannot enter into Town, if any of them need any thing, they are obliged to ask for it without the Town, crying as loud as they can, and leaving Money for it in a place appointed for that Traffick; when they have left it and told so, they are to withdraw, and a Merchant fails not to bring what they demand; he takes the true value of his Commodity, and so soon as he is gone, the *Poleas* comes and takes it, and so departs.

5. The Parianes, Friar Domingo Navarrete⁵⁷

There are three ranks or degrees of People in that Country: the Benianes are the Nobility and Gentry, they are great Fasters, and abstain from Flesh all their lifetime; their ordinary Food is Rice, sour Curds, Herbs, and the like [the word 'Banyan' was often applied by travellers to Hindus generally]. Others are called Parianes, these neither eat nor drink anything that another has touched, nor out of a vessel that another has touched, tho there be many Clothes over it. . . . Among these Parianes, there is one sort who are look'd upon by the rest as base and vile People. These on the Roads, when they see one of the others, step aside and give them the way: In Towns they come not to anybody's Door but their Equals; in the Streets so soon as ever they see a Man that is not of their own Rank, they run or hide themselves. They are despis'd and hated by all Men, and look'd upon as leprous and contagious Persons. I heard say, they had been formerly the noblest People in that Country and that for a piece of Treachery they committed, they were so cast down; in so much that the others will not admit of them as Servants or Slaves; and if it were made out that one of them had been within the House of one of the others, he would immediately pull down the whole Structure.





Chapter 11

Women

- A. Four Sorts of Women
- B. Women force in Vijayanagar
- C. Women Rulers
- D. Marriage
- E. Wives
- F. Widows
- G. Sati
- H. Devadasis

A. FOUR SORTS OF WOMEN

Hindus divide women into four categories, Niccolao Manucci¹

I have stated in my history that the Hindus know no higher delight in the world than consorting with women. To that I think it appropriate to add what they say about that sex. They hold that in this world there are four kinds of women. The first they call Padmani (*Padmini*), the second Chaterni (*Chitrini*), the third Asteni (*Hastini*), the fourth Sengueni (*Sankhini*). The first means 'Perfection', as much in body as in mind; for, so they say, such women are liberal, love their husbands, and are invincibly faithful to them. They have much wit, are of a sweet and peaceable disposition; in short, they possess all the perfections that God and Nature can bestow upon a mortal. Those of the second class are also most beneficent and have lovable qualities, but do not approach the perfection of the first class. Those of the third class are of a very bad disposition, and do not maintain the fidelity they owe to their husbands; and when they get their five fingers into any place, they never fail to clear it of everything to be found there. The women of the fourth class are of such a nature that they do not keep their word, they love noise, they sow discord wherever they can, and are very ill-bred in their mode of life.

B. WOMEN FORCE IN VIJAYANAGAR

1. Women in the palace, Duarte Barbosa²

The king has in his palace many women of position, daughters of great lords of the realm, and others as well, some as concubines, and some as handmaids. For this purpose the fairest and most healthy women are sought throughout the kingdom, that they may do him service with cleanliness and neatness, for all the service is carried out by women, and they do all the work inside the gates, and hold all the duties of the household. They are all gathered inside the palaces, where they have in plenty all that they require, and have many good lodgings. They sing and play and offer a thousand other pleasures as well to the king.

2. Over four thousand strong, dance, wrestle, cook, maintain accounts, also serve as astrologers, bailiffs and watchmen, Fernao Nuniz³

This King has also within his gates more than four thousand women, all of whom live in the palace; some are dancing-girls, and others are bearers who carry the King's wives on their shoulders, and the King also in the interior of the palace, for the King's houses are large and there are great intervals between one house and another. He has also women who wrestle, and others who are astrologers and soothsayers; and he has women who write all the accounts of expenses that are incurred inside the gates, and others whose duty it is to write all the affairs of the kingdom and compare their books with those of the writers outside, he has women also for music, who play instruments and sing. Even the wives of the King are well versed in music.

The King has other women besides. He has ten cooks for his personal service, and has others kept for times when he gives banquets; and these ten prepare the food for no one save for King alone. He has a eunuch for guard at the gate of the kitchen, who never allows any one to enter for fear of poison. When the King wishes to eat, every person withdraws, and then come some of the women whose duty it is and they prepare the table for him; they place for him a three-footed stool, round, made of gold, and on it put the messes. These are brought in large vessels of gold, and the smaller messes in basins of gold, some of which are adorned with precious stones. There is no cloth on the table, but one is brought when the King has finished eating, and he washes his hands and mouth. Women and eunuchs serve him at table. The wives of the King remain each in her own chamber and are waited on by maid-servants. It is said that he has judges, as well as bailiffs and watchmen who every night guard the palace, and all these are women.

C. WOMEN RULERS

1. Women rulers of Garsopa [Gerusappe], Ikkeri, Pietro Della Valle⁴

[W]e came to *Garsopa* and there lodg'd. This place was sometimes a famous City, Metropolis of the Province and Seat of a Queen: in which State, as likewise in many others upon the Coast of *India*, to this day a Woman frequently hath the sovereignty; Daughters, or other nearest kinswomen, begotten by whatever Father, succeeding the Mothers; these *Gentiles* having an opinion (as 'tis indeed) that the Issue by the woman-side is much more sure of the blood and lineage of the Ancestors than that by the Man-side [reference to custom prevalent among Nairs, the ruling group in these parts].

2. Queen of Olala [Ulala, near Mangalore], Pietro Della Valle⁵

...the Queen of Olala, whose Dominion and Residence are contiguous to *Mangalor*; ...is Sovereign of those parts, (a thing not ordinary in other Countries) and a Princess famous in our dayes, even in the Indian Histories of the *Portugals*, as because she is a *Gentile* in Religion, as like wise all her Subjects are...

(a) Appearance of queen akin to a kitchen-wench, Pietro Della Valle⁶

Having landed, and going towards the *Basar* to get a Lodging in some House, we beheld the Queen coming alone in the same way without any other Woman, on foot, accompany'd onely with four, or six, foot Souldiers before her, who all were naked after their manner, saving that they had a cloth, over their shame, and another like a sheet, worn across the shoulders like a belt; each of them had a Sword in his hand, or at most a Sword and Buckler; there were also as many behind her of the same sort, one of whom carry'd over her a very ordinary Umbrella made of Palm-leaves. Her Complexion was as black as that of a natural *Æthiopian*; she was corpulent and gross, but not heavy, for she seem'd to walk nimbly enough; her Age may be about forty years, although the Portugals had describ'd her to me as much older. She was cloth'd, or rather girded at the waist, with a plain piece of thick white Cotton, and bare-foot, which is the custom of the Indian *Gentile* Women, both high and low, in the house and abroad; and of Men too the most, and all the most ordinary, go unshod; some of the more grand wear Sandals, or Slippers; very few use whole Shoes covering all the Foot. From the waist upwards the Queen was naked, saving that she had a cloth ty'd round about her Head, and hanging a little down upon her Breast and Shoulders. In brief, her aspect and habit represented rather a dirty Kitchen-wench, or Laundress, than a delicate and noble Queen; whereupon I said within myself, Behold by whom are routed in *India* the Armies of the King of *Spain*, which in *Europe* is so great a matter! Yet the

Queen shew'd her quality much more in speaking than by her presence; for her voice was very graceful in comparison with her Person, and she spoke like a prudent and judicious Woman. They had told me that she had no teeth, and therefore was wont to go with half her Face cover'd; yet I could not discover any such defect in her, either by my Eye, or by my Ear; and I rather believe that this covering of the Mouth or half the Face, as she sometimes doth, is agreeable to the modest custom which I know to be common to almost all Women in the East. I will not omit to state that though she was so corpulent, as I have mention'd, yet she seems not deform'd, but I imagine she was handsome in her Youth; and, indeed, the Report is that she hath been much of a Lady, of majestic beauty, though stern rather than gentle.

Interview with queen

As soon as we saw her coming we stood still, lay'd down our baggage upon the ground and went on one side to leave her the way to pass. Which she taking notice of, and of my strange habit, presently ask'd, Whether there was any among us that could speak the Language? Whereupon my Brachman, *Narsu*, step'd forth and answer'd, Yes; and I, after I had saluted her according to our manner, went near to speak to her, she standing still in the way with all her people to give us Audience.

She ask'd who I was, (being already inform'd, as one of her Souldiers told me, by a *Portugal* who was come about his business before me from *Mangalor* to *Manel*, that I was come thither to see her). I caus'd my Interpreter to tell her that I was "Un Cavaliero Ponentino", (*A Gentleman of the West*) who came from very far Countries; and, because other *Europeans* than *Portugals* were not usually seen in her Dominions, I caus'd her to be told that I was not a *Portugal* but a *Roman*, specifying too that I was not of the *Turks* of *Constantinople*, who in all the East are styl'd and known by the Name of *Rumi*; but a Christian of *Rome*, where is the See of the Pope who is the Head of the Christians. That it was almost ten years since my first coming from home and wandering about the world, and seeing divers Countries and Courts of great Princes; and that being mov'd by the fame of her worth, which had long ago come to my Ears, I was come into this place purposely to see her and offer her my service. She ask'd, What Countries and Courts of Princes I had seen? I gave her a brief account of all; and she, hearing the Great Turk, the Persian, the Moghol, and *Venk-tapa Naieka* [one of the Keladi chiefs who began their career as a vassal of the king of *Vijayanagar* and subsequently moved their capital to *Ikkeri* and later to *Bednur*] nam'd, ask'd, What then I came to see in these Woods of hers? intimating that her State was not worth seeing after so many other great things as I said I had seen. I reply'd to her that it was enough for me to see her Person, which I knew to be of great worth; for which purpose

alone I had taken the pains to come thither, and accounted the same very well employ'd.

After some courteous words of thanks she ask'd me, If any sickness, or other disaster, had hapned to me in so remote and strange Countries, how I could have done, being alone, without any to take care of me? (a tender affection, and natural to the compassion of Women). I answer'd that in every place I went into I had God with me, and that I trusted in him. She ask'd me, Whether I left my Country upon any disgust, the death of any kindred, or beloved person, and therefore wander'd so about the world, (for in *India*, and all the East some are wont to do so upon discontents, either of Love, or for the death of some dear persons, or for other unfortunate accidents....)...

Many other questions she ask'd, which I do not now remember, talking with me, standing a good while; to all which I answer'd the best I could. At length she bid me go and lodge in some house, and afterwards she would talk with me again at more convenience. Whereupon I took my leave, and she proceeded on her way, and, as I was afterwards told, she went about a mile off to see a work which she had in hand of certain Trenches to convey water to certain places whereby to improve them....

Name of queen

The name of the Queen of *Olala* is *Abag-devi-Ciautru* of which words *Abag* is her proper name; *Devi* signifies as much as Lady, and with this word they are also wont to signify all their gods....

But to return to our purpose, they told me the word *Ciautru*, (the last in the Queen of *Olala*'s Name) [probably Kshatriya] was a Title of Honour peculiar to all the Kings and Queens of *Olala*, and therefore possibly signifies either Prince, or King and Queen, or the like.

Succession through female line

As to this Country being subject to a Woman, I understood from intelligent persons of the Country, that in *Olala* Men were, and are always, wont to reign, and that 'tis a custom receiv'd in *India* amongst the greatest part of the *Gentiles*, that the Sons do not succeed their Fathers, but the Sons of their Sisters; they accounting the Female-line more certain, as indeed it is, than the Male. Yet the last King of *Olala* having neither Nephews nor other Legitimate Heirs, his Wife succeeded him; and she, also dying without other Heirs, left this *Abag-devi*, who was her Sister, to succeed her....

Married life of queen

Not to conceal what I know of the History of this Queen, I shall add that, after her Assumption of the Throne upon the death of her Sister, she was

married for many years to the King of *Banghel*, who now is a fugitive, depriv'd of his Dominions, but then reign'd in his own Country which borders upon hers. Yet, though they were Husband and Wife, (more for Honor's sake than any thing else) they liv'd not together, but apart, each in their own Lands: on the confines whereof, either upon Rivers, where they caus'd Tents to be erected over boats, or in other places of delight, they came to see and converse with one another; the King of *Banghel* wanting not other Wives and Women who accompany'd him wherever he went. 'Tis reported that this Queen had the Children, which she hath, by this King of *Banghel*, if they were not by some other secret and more intimate Lover; for, they say she wants not such.

Divorce and war with husband

The Matrimony and good Friendship having lasted many years between the King of *Banghel* and the Queen, I know not upon what occasion discord arose between them, and such discord that the Queen divorc'd him, sending back to him, (as the custom is in such case) all the Jewels which he had given her as his Wife. For this, and perhaps for other causes, he became much offended with the Queen, and the rupture proceeded to a War: during which it so fortun'd that one day as she was going in a boat upon one of those Rivers, not very well guarded, he sending his people with other boats in better order, took her and had her in his power: yet with fair carriage and good words she prevail'd so far that he let her go free and return to her Country. In revenge of this injury she forthwith rais'd War against the King of *Banghel*, who relied upon the aid of the neighbouring *Portugals* because he was confederate with them, and (as they say of many Royolets of *India*) Brother in Arms to the King of *Portugal*. The Queen, to counterpoise that force, call'd to her assistance against the King of *Banghel*, and the *Portugals* who favour'd him, the neighbouring King *Venk-tapa Naieka*, who was already become very potent and fear'd by all his Neighbours, and under his protection and obedience she put her self. *Venk-tapa Naieka* sent a powerful Army in favour of the Queen, took all the King of *Banghel*'s Territories and made them his own, destroying the Fort which was there...

This was the war of *Banghel*, in which the Queen got the better of the King and the *Portugals*, of which she was very proud; yet, withall, her Protector, *Venk-tapa Naieka*, who is very rapacious and little faithful, sufficiently humbled her, and she got not much benefit by him, saving quiet living; for, besides his subjecting her to his obedience in a manner, she was necessitated, whether by agreement, or violence, I know not, to resign to him *Berdrete*, which is the best and richest City she had, together with much Land on the confines of *Venk-tapa*, and of the inner part of her Country, which amounted to a good part of her Dominions; however at present she lives and

governs her Country in Peace, being respected by all her Neighbours....

(b) Dutiful ruler, comparable to Shah Abbas of Persia, Pietro Della Valle⁷

...the Queen...was little at home, but, rising at break of day, went forthwith to her Works and there stayed till dinner; and as soon as dinner was done return'd thither again and remain'd there till night. By which action I observ'd something in her of the spirit of *Sciah Abbas* King of *Persia*, and concluded it no wonder that she hath always shew'd herself like him, that is, active and vigorous in actions of war and weighty affairs. Moreover they said that at night she was employ'd a good while in giving Audience and doing Justice to her Subjects...

3. Queen of Carnate [Karnata, or the Kanarese country] offers her entire wealth to defend her realm, Pietro Della Valle⁸

I prepar'd myself to go to *Carnate* to see that Queen whose Territory and City is, as I have said elsewhere, two, or three, Leagues distant from *Mangalor*; upon the Sea-coast towards the North. The City stands upon a River which encompasses it, and over-flowes the Country round about. It was wont to be very strong both by Art and situation; but, during the war of *Mangalor*, *Venk-tapa Naieka*, coming with a great army to subdue and pillage all these Countries, sent for this Queen to come and yield Obedience to him. The Queen, who, as I have heard, is a Lady of much Virtue and Prudence, being unwilling to render herself to *Venk-tapa*, summoned her Captains together, told them that she was ready to spend and give them all the Money and Jewels she had, and not to be wanting on her part to exert her utmost power, if they would prepare themselves to defend the State. But these Ministers, either through Cowardice, or Treachery, would not attempt a defence. Whereupon the poor Queen, who as a Woman could do little by herself, (her Son also being very young) seeing her people disheartned, resolv'd by their advice to surrender herself to *Venk-tapa Naieka*; and accordingly prepar'd to go to him with a good Guard of Souldiers. Hearing which he sent to her to come alone without other company than her Attendants; which she did, not voluntarily but constrain'd thereto by her hard Fortune and the treachery of others. *Venk-tapa* receiv'd her honourably and took her into his Friendship and Protection; but withall he caus'd the City to be dismantled of the strong Walls it had, to prevent her rebelling against him afterwards, and left her, as before, the Government of the State, tying her onely to Obedience, the payment of a Tribute, and the profession of an honorable Vassalage to him.

When they dismantled the City the Queen (they say), unable to endure the sight, retir'd into a solitary place a little distant, cursing in those her

solitudes the Pusillanimity and Infidelity of her own people, no less than the bad fortune and weakness of the *Portugals* her defenders, to whom she had been always a Faithful Friend. At this time she lives with her young Son, either in *Carnate*, or some other place there-abouts.

D. MARRIAGE

1. Women devoted to husbands, Duarte Barbosa⁹

The women of this land are so bold in their idolatry and do such marvels for the love of their gods, that it is a terrible thing [As to the women of this country although they are so delicate and go about with so many jewels and scents], I cannot refrain from saying what I have seen of the greatness and incredible constancy of their minds in addition to the matters related above. If any young maiden would marry a youth on whom she has set her fancy she makes a vow to her god that if he will arrange for her marriage she will do him a great service before giving herself to her husband. If her wish is fulfilled, and she obtains him for her husband, she tells him that before giving herself to him she must offer sacrifice to such and such a god to whom she has promised to make an offering of her blood. Then, appointing a certain day for the ceremony, they take a great ox-cart and set-up therein a tall water-lift like those used in castille for drawing water from wells, at the end of which hang two very sharp iron hooks. She goes forth on the appointed day in the company of her relations and friends, men and women, with much music played and sung, also dancers and tumblers. She is naked from the waist up, and wears cotton garments below. When she arrives at the gate where the cart stands ready, they let down (the long arm of) the lift and push the hooks into her loins, through skin and flesh. Then they put a 'small dagger' [small round shield, Ramusio and Spanish] into her left hand, and from the other end, cause the (arm of the) lift to rise, with much outcry and shouting from the people. She remains hanging from the lift with the blood running down her legs, but shows no signs of pain, nay, she waves her dagger most joyfully, throwing limes at her husband. In this manner they conduct her to the temple wherein is the idol to whom she has vowed such a sacrifice, on arriving at the gate whereof they take her down and attend to her wounds, and make her over to her husband, while she, according to her station in life, gives great gifts and alms to the Bramenes and idols, and food in abundance to all who have accompanied her.

2. Wedding at Banaras, Ralph Fitch¹⁰

When they be maried, the man and the woman come to the water side, and there is an olde man which they call a Bramane (that is, a priest), a

cowe, and a calfe, or a cowe with calfe. Then the man and the woman, cowe and calfe, and the olde man goe into the water together, and they give the olde man a white cloth of foure yards long, and a basket crosse bound with divers things in it; the cloth hee laieth upon the backe of the cowe, and then he taketh the cowe by the ende of the taile and saith certaine wordes; and she hath a copper or a brasse pot full of water, and the man doeth hold his hand by the olde mans hand, and the wives hand by her husbands, and all have the cowe by the taile, and they poure water out of the pot upon the cowes taile, and it runneth through all their hands, and they lade up water with their handes, and then the olde man doeth tie him and her together by their clothes. Which done, they goe round about the cowe and calfe, and then they give somewhat to the poore which be alwayes there, and to the Bramane or priest they give the cowe and calfe, and afterward goe to divers of their idoles and offer money, and lie downe flat upon the ground and kisse it divers times, and then goe their way.

3. The Deccanis – seven times around sacred fire, Jan Huygen van Linschoten¹¹

When they are to be married, they begin fourteene dayes before to make a great sound with Trumpets, Drummes and Fifes, which continueth day and night for all those fourteen dayes, with so great a noise of songs and Instruments, that men can neither heare, nor see. On the Wedding day, all the friends and kindered on both sides doe assemble together, and sit upon the ground, round about a Fire, and goe seuen times about it vttering certaine words, whereby the Wedding is done. They giue their Daughters no Household-stuffe, but onely some Iewels, as Bracelets, Eare-rings, and such like of small value, wherewith their Husbands must be content, for the Daughters are no Heyres, but the Sonnes inherite all, but they keepe and maintaine their Daughters and Sisters till they marrie...

Euery one of them followeth his Fathers occupation, and marrieth with the Daughter of such like Trades, which they name Kindreds.

4. Pomp and splendour of wedding procession at Surat, Pietro Della Valle¹²

...I shall give you the relation of a Nuptial Pomp, which I saw one day pass by my house in this manner; A long train of men with Drums and Trumpets, before them march'd in the day time first, carrying cover'd baskets, full of sundry things, which were either a present sent from the Bridegroom to the Bride, or rather the attiring of the Bride, which uses to be publickly shewn in the East. Then follow'd on foot likewise some black Women-slaves, well cloth'd, being given to the Bride either by the Father, or the Husband. Lastly,

to conclude the Pomp, came a Palanchino, a kind of Litter, wherein persons of quality are wont to be carry'd in *India*. It was not of the ordinary form, which hang downwards upon one pole between the bearers before, and behind; but it was carry'd on high upon poles by four men, one at each corner, and it was cover'd all over with silk, yet no body was within it; so that I know not what it serv'd for, unless haply it was intended to transport the Bride to her Husband; this different fashion being for greater solemnity made use of, in such an occasion as Marriage. At night the married couples pass'd by, and, according to their mode, went round about the City with a numerous company. They were four, all very small children, two boys, and two girls; (for in *India* most marriages take place at that age), and because they were not big enough to ride on Horse-back alone, therefore they were held up by so many well-grown men, who sat upon the saddle. Before them went many Torches, and Musical instruments, with a great troop of people on foot accompanying them. But the persons of quality follow'd in Coaches, of which there was a good number, and going one by one they made a very long train; whereby it was known that the married Children were of considerable quality.

5. Marriage vows taken seriously, adultery rare, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier¹³

Although these idolaters are in the depths of blindness as to a knowledge of the true God, that does not prevent them from leading in many respects, according to nature, moral lives. When married they are rarely unfaithful to their wives, adultery is very rare among them, and one never hears unnatural crime spoken of. They marry their children at the age of seven or eight years, through fear lest they should abandon themselves to this crime.

Wedding rituals

And, in a few words these are the ceremonies which are observed at their marriages. On the eve of the nuptials the bridegroom, accompanied by all his relatives, goes to the house of the bride with a pair of large bracelets two fingers in thickness, but hollow inside, and in two pieces, with a hinge in the middle to open them by. According to the wealth of the bridegroom these bracelets are more or less costly, being of gold, silver, brass, or tin, those of the poorest being of lead only. When the bridegroom arrives, he places one of these bracelets on each leg of his bride, to indicate that he holds her thenceforward enchain'd, and that she can never leave him. On the morrow the feast is prepared in the house of the bridegroom, where all the relatives on either side are present, and at 3 p.m. the bride is brought. Several Brahmins are present, and their Chief makes the head of the bridegroom touch that of the bride, and pronounces several words while he sprinkles water on their

heads and bodies. Then on plates or on large leaves of the fig tree [the plantain] many kinds of food and pieces of stuff and calico are brought. The Brahman asks the bridegroom if what God gives to him he will share with his wife, and if he will strive to support her by his labour. When he has said 'yes,' all the guests seat themselves at the feast which has been prepared for them, and each one eats apart. According to the wealth of the bridegroom and the credit he enjoys with great persons, the nuptials are celebrated with pomp and great expenditure. He is seated on an elephant and his bride in a carriage, all who accompany them bearing torches in their hands. He borrows, moreover, for this ceremony from the Governor of the place and from other great nobles among his friends as many elephants as he can, together with show horses, and they march about thus for a part of the night with fireworks, which are exploded in the streets and open spaces.

Ganga water served to guests

But the chief outlay is on Ganges water, for those who are sometimes 300 or 400 leagues distant from the river; as this water is considered sacred, and drunk from religious motives, it has to be brought from a great distance by the Brahmans in earthen vessels glazed inside, which the Grand Brahman of Jagannath has himself filled with the cleanest water in the river, and has marked with his own seal. This water is not given except at the end of the repast, as I have said before; for each of the guests three or four cupfuls are poured out, and the more of it the bridegroom gives them to drink the more generous and magnificent he is esteemed. As this water comes from so far, and the Chief Brahman charges a tax on each pot, which is round and holds about as much as one of our buckets, there is sometimes 2,000 or 3,000 rupees worth of it consumed at a wedding.

6. Importance of marriage for Hindus, the mangalsutra, Niccolao Manucci¹⁴

To their idea, there is not in this world anything to compare in importance with getting married. It is in marriage, as they understand things, that consists one of the greatest felicities of human life. Imbued with that opinion, children as soon as they can talk and know how to say 'father' and 'mother,' are taught to say that they want to marry. Often their daughters are married even before they have learnt to talk; and as in this country there are so many different kinds of castes and tribes, there are equally many different manners and customs. First of all, then, I will state what practices are common to everybody, and, secondly, what is peculiar to each caste.

It is ordinarily the case among the Hindus that the husband is some years older than the wife, but both are of one caste. Almost all of them hold the

essence of the marriage rites to consist in binding on a little piece of gold called a taily (*tali*), which the husband must attach to the bride's neck, just as in Europe rings are exchanged. The parents on both sides agree to the conditions of the contract, and fix the day of the marriage. This is carried out in front of the house door in a species of arbour constructed expressly, and quite new. This arbour is erected for everybody, from the king down to the shepherd. Although all the conditions have been settled, should, on this occasion of attaching the piece of gold, someone else, through envy or hatred or some family reason, step in front of the bridegroom and tie the piece of gold to the bride's neck, this man is held to be her true husband and the bride his real wife, although she may not want him – may, indeed, have resisted and opposed it with all her strength.

After this the bridegroom and his relations come out into the open to search for signs favorable to their purpose. If they meet with such, they go to the girl's father's house, and ask for her as their daughter-in-law. After the father and mother have entertained those who have come to ask for their daughter's hand, they, as a rule, raise objections to the demand, saying that they will consult the omens and then give an answer. In this way they send off the demanders, asking them to return in a few days. In conformity to this request, they come back, and the omens are examined. If favorable, the contract is completed. It is not uncommon for a husband to buy his wife.

When the price has been fixed, the man's parents procure a part of the money, and carry it to the girl's father. That done, they bring a bunch of flowers, a coconut, and a branch of figs (bananas), to be presented to the bride. After this ceremony, if the bridegroom repents and declines to marry the girl, he loses the money he had advanced as a sort of earnest-money. If it is the woman who breaks the agreement, the parents must return double the money they have received.

7. Brahmin wedding ceremonies, Niccolao Manucci¹⁵

After a Brahman who wishes to marry has applied to his future father-in-law for his daughter's hand, he quits the place where his future wife resides and enters another house, where he is awaited by the relations of the girl. Then, after conversing some time, the bridegroom pretends he is angry, and rising in a great hurry, he puts on a pair of old clogs, takes a staff in his hand, puts a book under his arm, and says to the assembly that he is off for a pilgrimage through the world. He does really go away, but not very far, for the nearest relations of the woman hinder him by their implorations, and promise, for the purpose of appeasing his feigned anger, that he shall be married without delay.

As proof that what they say is not a mockery, but the unalloyed truth,

they take hold of him and place him on a table and carry him to the bride's door, where the girl's mother is waiting. After she has bathed his feet with cow's milk, and he has wiped them on the clothes he is wearing, they make him sit a little time on a new mat. Then the parent's raise him by the hand, and seat him beside the bride on a swing made of boards tied to a beam with ropes. Then while some propel the swing, others break forth into laudatory songs.

When the bridegroom gets down and the music is over (all this taking place at the street-door), they bring him into the courtyard of the house where they offer sacrifices and worship fire [*homan*, sacred fire], which they hold also to be God. They offer also a coconut to an idol. When this is completed, the brother of the bride brings her forth in his arms. He seats her on a *scuderis* [wicker basket]. Then, before the bridegroom can bind on the piece of gold (*i.e.* the *tali*), the bride's father and her other relations put themselves in front of him and demand for the girl more money than agreed on in the beginning. On this point there is always a grand dispute, which does not always end without the interchange of abusive words, the least of which would in Europe make a man kill him-self, or in any other land where there was the least feeling of shame and modesty. To end up with, the bridegroom is called upon to pay the extra money that the father-in-law continues to ask for – that is, unless he prefers to give up the alliance. After this dispute is over, he ties the piece of gold to the neck of the bride, whereby the marriage is concluded. The bridegroom finishes with a profound bow to his mother-in-law that is to be, throwing himself at her feet. She raises him, and gives him a coconut. However, she is not allowed to speak to him again for many a year. This obeisance over, the bridegroom takes hold of the bride's foot, and before everybody puts it three times on a stone which they use to crush their pepper and similar articles of food. Then they resume once more their sacrifices.

All that concerns the contract being accomplished, the banquet ceremonial follows, which is carried out thus: First of all, the ground beneath the arbour, surrounded by branches of trees, is carefully rubbed over with cowdung. Then the guests seat themselves on the ground, and before each is placed the leaf of a tree, or several leaves sewn together, as already spoken of. On each is then placed a little salt and a small morsel of fruit preserved in vinegar. Next come the viands carried by the attendants in baskets. They consist of cooked rice, of which each receives on his leaf as much as can be eaten, for nothing ought to be left. After this, as second *plat*, they bring cooked grain, over which they pour a little butter, and add various kinds of green-stuff. A second time they ladle out cooked rice on the top, and last of all some broth made of water and pepper, and a little curds.

Then, as the bride may not eat at table with her spouse, the latter pays her a delicate compliment: he goes up behind her with a ball made of rice and

grain from his leaf-plate, and thrusts it into her hand. Holding her face averted, she takes it, and then flees with the swiftness of a deer.

The feast ended, the Brahmins rise, and carrying off the leaf from which they have eaten, throw it outside. After washing their hands and feet, they thoroughly anoint their forehead, breast, and arms, with dissolved sandal. In these matters so bad are their manners, that if anything is deficient, they give the greatest abuse to the master of the house, in the hearing of everybody...

When all the ceremonies have been performed, the newly-married man allows his wife to go back to her father's house, and he returns to his own abode accompanied by his relations. But the father and mother-in-law do not deliver their daughter to their son-in-law until she has attained puberty.

8. Kshatriya wedding ceremonies, Niccolao Manucci¹⁶

When the conditions have been agreed on, and the price to be paid to the father-in-law for his daughter has been fixed, on the day before the wedding they throw a string over the bride-groom's head. It is made of three strings of three threads each. In each of these three threads, again there are three cotton threads. The string is passed over one shoulder and under the other armpit. It is a sign or mark of nobility, and this is called the Marriage of the Thread.

After this has been done, the future husband declares that he will enter into no farther bonds, and departs in simulated anger. But the parents follow him, call him back, by arguments and smooth words persuade him he must marry. Since no one is more desirous to do so than he is, no long discourses are needed to convince him.

The following day the omen-readers, who have been called in, fix the marriage day. A sort of awning is made of white cloth, and this is carried aloft by four men. Then four women, related to the bridegroom, bring four water-pots, which they carry with the awning held over them, as far as the street-door [of the bride's house], where there is a sort of high arbour erected on purpose. It is here that the wedding ceremony has to be performed. The water is placed in this arbour along with the awning. Then there is a certain tree in this country that they class as a Brahman, and style the Marriage God. A branch of this tree is brought, and also one of another tree with bitter leaves, which they call Parechi [Parisa, papal], meaning that it is the wife of the other tree, according to them. The two branches are then interwoven round a post put in the centre of the arbour. There is also some sugarcane which they tie on. At the foot of all this are placed some leaves of a certain herb which is used to make powder. At the foot of the other pillars they place a quantity of little dishes of earth, in each a sort of hot cake made of rice-flour, and these are eaten by the women guests before the feast begins.

On this ceremony having been completed, the bridegroom appears loaded

with gold jewellery, generally borrowed, his body thoroughly rubbed with powdered sandal-wood, and covered with flower necklaces sprinkled with little leaves of gold. In this array he is placed in a palanquin, carried on the shoulders of six or eight men. Before him go all the relations and friends on foot, escorting him, while a great number of trumpets, flutes, and drums are played. When the bridegroom with all this pomp reaches the door of the house where the wedding is to be celebrated, he gets out of the palanquin. His future mother-in law comes to bathe his feet with cow's milk, wiping them with a piece of silk cloth.

As he who is clean does not want even his feet washed he objects, but the other side maintain that he has not been purified. They must wash the whole of his body. By this means the bridegroom has to remove the whole of the jewellery with which he has come adorned. Binding round himself a morsel of cloth, he allows his body and head to be washed by the relations of the bride with a certain drug made from green-peas [*besan*, made from gram]. This has been prepared on purpose. At the same time the parents deal similarly with the bride. Then both proceed to some river or pond to bathe, but at different places.

The bathing finished, the future husband arrays himself as before, and, escorted by his relations to the sound of music, they make for the arbour above mentioned, there to have the business concluded. The bride arrives escorted by her relations, but by a different way from the bridegroom's route. The parents of the bride await him, and throw over him and his following a basketful of uncooked rice mixed with other things. The other side retort by throwing some similar mixture. The same is done to the bride by the relations of both parties.

Having arrived at the arbour and performed the sacrifice of worshipping fire, a Brahman appears, who begins by blessing the piece of gold called *taily* (*tali*), which the bridegroom has to tie to the bride's neck. He hands it round to be touched by all the respectable persons present. Next he makes it over to the bridegroom, who is by this time seated with his lady-love on a sort of camp-bed covered by a carpet. Then to the sound of trumpets and flutes, the letting-off of matchlocks, and the throwing of squibs into the air, the relations and friends attach the *taily* (*tali*) to the bride. In this, as they hold, consists the essential rite of the marriage.

Subsequently, having first sung two very pretty songs in praise of the newly-married couple, they go back a second time to their sacrifices. During this they worship an idol they call Polcar (Pillaiyar). They say that this god has such control over marriages that his own father when he married worshipped him in the manner practiced at this day. It is for this reason that they style him 'the son born before his father'. The sacrificing and worship ended, they throw at once into a large vessel, placed there in readiness and

full of water, an imitation fish made of a substance resembling flour. One of the relations of the newly-married pair holds it by a string, and moves it to and fro in the water. Then the bridegroom, as a proof of his skill, shoots a small arrow from his bow at this fish. If he hits, everybody breaks forth in his praise, saying he is very skilful in the use of arms, most valiant, most fortunate. If he misses, they say he is unlucky and maladroit. But hit or miss, the game ends...

When the bridegroom has spent some days in the house of his father-in-law, he leaves for his own house, whether it be in the same locality or at a distance. After the lapse of fifteen days his parents go back to the bride's home, when, with much ceremony and a large retinue, they convey her to her husband's house. After a stay of eight to ten days she is reconducted to her father's. There she usually remains until the age of puberty, on which occasion there is a feast like that observed by the Brahmins, except that no coarse or obscene language is used. The custom of the other castes is the same.

9. No marriage among merchants without informing shoe-maker of locality, Niccolao Manucci¹⁷

The people of this caste [merchants] observe in their marriages no other ceremonies than those performed by Brahmins and Rajahs, with the exception that no marriage can take place without informing the shoemaker of the locality [the Comaty shopkeepers of Madras before contracting a marriage, send a betel offering to the shoemaker]. These are the lowest and the most despised among men. When the shoemaker has consented, they make earthen figures of his two-edged scraper, his awl, his paring-knife, and his other tools. These are made over to the man about to marry as proof positive that they have leave of the shoemaker. The reason some assign for this base practice is that in olden times that caste originated from a Brahman and a shoemaker's wife. This man, as they say, looked on the woman, disregarding the restrictions of his caste, by the maxims of which not only should he not have spoken to her, but not approached within eighty or more paces of her. In spite of this, he went near enough to be able to ask her if she would marry him. Her persistent reply was that without the permission of her husband she would grant nothing to satisfy his wishes. But this answer was not powerful enough to make the Brahman desist from his pursuit. On the contrary, he became only the more inflamed, and each time he saw her he sought means to win her. On seeing this the shoemaker's wife said to her husband: 'You who have done so many virtuous actions in your life and given so much away in alms, give me as an alms to this Brahman, and it will form, I assure you, one of the most meritorious works you have either done or could do'. 'For (she wound up with saying) 'this Brahman is our god, and

to do his will is like sacrificing to God, for which you will be recompensed some day without fail.'

The poor shoemaker, overcome by this reasoning so opposed to honour, and also by the poverty of his condition, gave his wife to the Brahman. The children born of this union follow in many respects the customs of their ancestor. Anxious to regain the honour they have lost they still follow their father's habits, such as to twist thread [*janeo*, brahmanical thread], not to eat flesh or fish, not to cook nor eat where other castes can see them. For if anyone went and touched, or even drew near to, the place where they prepare their food or where they eat it, they would consider themselves polluted and defiled. On such occasions what they have already eaten they artificially vomit, and break the pots in which it has been cooked. They go off at once to bathe themselves so as to recover their purity. Furthermore, by the marriage above referred to, they have lost the honour of belonging to the Brahman caste, and equally so the right to study religion and sciences, a thing allowed to the Brahmans alone in this country. From this cause these others, knowing not what else to do, have been obliged to turn into merchants. This is why all the other castes, even those of the Sudras, who know the constitution of this caste, will not eat or drink in their houses...

10. Turumbu, a token divorce among some Shudra castes, Niccolao Manucci¹⁸

...there is in...some...castes of the Sudras and black men, a barbarous practice. When the husband is tired of his wife he gives her a straw called turumbu (*turumbu*, a token of divorce). By the giving of this straw the marriage is broken, so that without any offence against the woman the man can remarry; and equally without any offence to the man, the wife can take another husband. What is remarkable is that it is not only the husband who may repudiate his wife by that ceremony, but she, too, if she is weary of him, can force him to give her the turumbu (*turumbu*), the special sign by which he repudiates her and entirely dissolves the marriage.

11. Divorce not known among Brahmins and Rajputs, Niccolao Manucci¹⁹

...this practice [divorce] is not known anywhere in the Brahman or Rajah caste, nor in those of the shop-keepers, nor among Sudras of decent standing; for although these may divorce their wives and marry others, the divorced wives, either in the husband's lifetime or afterwards, are not able to marry again. In all these better castes, after the husband has attached to the neck of the woman the piece of gold called a *tali*, the marriage becomes indissoluble.

12. Child marriage at Baglana, Jean de Thevenot²⁰

In this Province (as in the rest of *Decan*) the *Indians* Marry their Children very young, and make them Cohabit much sooner that they do in many places of the Indies; they Celebrate Matrimony at the Age of four, five or six Years, and suffer them to bed together when the Husband is ten Years old, and the Wife eight; but the Women who have Children so young, soon leave off Child-bearing, and commonly do not conceive after thirty Years of Age, but become extreamly wrinkly; and therefore there are places in the *Indies* where the young Married couple are not suffered to lye together before the Man be fourteen Years old: After all (otherwise) a Gentile marries at any Age, and cannot have several Wives at a time as the *Mahometans* have; when his Wife dies, he may take another, and so successively, provided she he takes be a Maid, and of his own Caste.

13. Great numbers of marriages in Hindustan, Jean de Thevenot²¹

...there are certain times (when in great Towns) Five or six hundred are Celebrated a day, and nothing is to be seen in the Streets but Inclosures; these Wedding Inclosures are just as big as the Front of the Husbands House to the Street, they are made of Poles and Canes hung in the inside, and covered with Tapistry or Cloaths, to preserve the Guests from the heat of the Sun, and there they feast and make merry.

E. HINDU WIVES

1. Hindus not fearful of their wives, Edward Terry²²

These Gentiles take but one wife; of which they are not so fearefull as the Mahometans of their multitude, for they suffer them to goe abroad. They are married yong, at six or seven yeeres old (their parents making the contracts), and about twelve come together.

2. Wife of Venktapa Nayak [a Keladi chief of Ikkeri] sacrifices for husband, Pietro Della Valle²³

October the five and twentieth. News came to *Onor* how on *Thursday* night last, *October* the nine and twentieth, *Venk-tapa Naieka* lost his chief Wife, an aged Woman and well belov'd by him; her name was *Badra-Ama*, Daughter of a noble-man of the same Race of *Lingavant*, which *Venk-tapa* himself is of...I will not suppress one story which is reported of this Lady. They say that twelve or thirteen years since, when she was about five and thirty years old, it came to her ears that *Venk-tapa Naieka*, her Husband, having become fond of a Moorish Woman, kept her secretly in a Fort not far from the

Court, where he frequently solac'd himself with her for two or three dayes together; whereupon *Badrai-Ama*, first complaining to him not onely of the wrong which he did thereby to her, but also more of that which he did to himself defiling himself with a strange Woman of impure Race (according to their superstition), and of a Nation which drank Wine and ate Flesh and all sort of uncleanesses (in their account), told him that, if he had a mind for other Women, he need not have wanted Gentile-Women of their own clean Race, without contaminating himself with this Moor; and she would have suffered it with patience; but, since he had thus defil'd himself with her, she for the future would have no more to do with him; and thereupon she took an Oath that she would be to him, as his Daughter and he should be to her as her Father: after which she shew'd no further resentment, but liv'd with him as formerly, keeping him company in the Palace, tending upon him in his sickness and doing other things with the same love as at first, helping and advising him in matters of Government, wherein she had alwayes great authority with him; and, in short, excepting the Matrimonial Act; perfectly fulfilling all other Offices of a good Wife. *Venk-tapa Naieka*, who had much affection for her, notwithstanding the wrong he did her with his Moor, endeavour'd by all means possible to divert her from this, her purpose and to perswade her to live a Matrimonial Life still with him, offering many times to compound for that Oath by the alms of above 20,000 Pagods (Pagod is a gold coin, near equivalent to a Venetian Zecchino or English Angel), but all in vain, and she persever'd constant in this Resolution till death; which being undoubtedly an act of much Constancy and Virtue was the cause that *Venk-tapa Naieka* lov'd her always so much the more.

October the eight and twentieth. *Vitula Sinay* sent to tell our Ambassador that, having sent word of our arrival to the Court, the great Ministers had acquainted *Venk-tapa Naieka* therewith, who was still so afflicted for the death of his Wife that he went not forth in Publick, nor suffer'd himself to be seen; when they told him of this matter he stood a while without answering, and at length said onely that they might come when they please.

3. Matrilineal system among Nairs of Calicut, Pietro Della Valle²⁴

The Gentile *Nairi* have no peculiar Wives; but all Women are common amongst them; and when any man repairs to visit one of them he leaves his weapon at the door, which sign sufficiently debars all others from entering in to disturb him; nor does this course beget any difficulty, or jealousie. The Women are maintained by those men that have to do with them. The children neither seek to know, nor many times do know, who their Father is, but their descent by the Mother is alone considered, and according to that all inheritances are transferred. The same rule is observed among Princes and their Wives, the

Queens, who are the King's Sisters, being used to marry other neighbouring Kings, and to go into their States to have children, who are to succeed in the Kingdoms of their Uncles, and by this means are of Royal blood both by Father and Mother. These Princesses are held in great esteem by the Kings, their Husbands; yet if they are minded to try other Men they are not prohibited, but may and often times do so, making use of whom they fancy for their pleasure, but especially of some *Brachman*, or other of their Husbands' principal Courtiers, who with their privity and consent are wont to converse and practise with them most intrinsecally in the Palace.

4. Courtesans rare, Pietro Della Valle²⁵

The Pagan Women go with their faces uncover'd, and are freely seen by everyone both at home and a broad. Nevertheless they are modest, and honor'd much more then the Mahometans; and amongst them 'tis a certain thing that there is not any publick Courtisan; but amongst the Mahometan Women there are infinite, who go every day publickly to houses, and where they please; to play Musick, sing, dance, and do what else, belongs to their profession.

5. Women of the Indies fruitful, Jean de Thevenot²⁶

The Women all over the *Indies* are fruitful, because they live very frugally as well as their Husbands, and they are so easily brought to Bed, that some of them go abroad the same day they have been Delivered, to wash themselves in the River. Their Children are brought up with the same facility; they go naked till they be seven Years old, and when they are two or three Months old, they suffer them to crawl upon the ground till they be able to go [walk]; when they are dirty they wash them, and by degrees they come to walk as streight as ours do, without the torture of Swathing-bands or Clouts.

F. WIDOWS

Widow remarriage, a rarity, Jean de Thevenot²⁷

The *Indian* Wives have a far different fate from that of their Husbands, for they cannot provide themselves of a second, when their first Husband is dead; they dare not Marry again, they have their Hair cut off for ever after; and though they be but five or six years old (they are obliged) if they will not burn themselves, to live in perpetual Widowhood, which happens very often; but then they live wretchedly, for they incur the contempt of their Family and Caste, as being afraid of death; what Virtue soever they make appear, they can never regain the esteem of their Relations, and it is rare (though they be young and beautiful), that they ever find another Husband; not but that some

of them transgress the Law of Widowhood, but they are turned out of the Tribe when it comes to be known; and such of them as are resolved to Marry again, have recourse to the Christians or Mahometans, and then they forsake Gentilisme...

G. SATI

1. Sati in Goa, Tome Pires²⁸

It is mostly the custom in this kingdom of Goa for every heathen wife to burn herself alive on the death of her husband. Among themselves they all rate this highly, and if they do not want to burn themselves to death their relatives are dishonoured and they rebuke those who are ill-disposed towards the sacrifice and force them to burn themselves. And those who will not burn themselves on any consideration become public prostitutes and earn money for the upkeep and construction of the temples in their districts, and they die in this way.

2. Sati in the Vijayanagar kingdom, Duarte Barbosa²⁹

The poor widow throws herself, of her own will, into the fire that consumes the body of her husband and burns there with him to death. If the widow is rich, her relations make a wide and deep grave and fill it with sandal and other wood, and place the dead body within and burn it; and his wife; or wives weep for him, and then, should she desire to honour her husband, she asks for a term of certain number of days to go and be burnt with him. And they bid all her relations, and those of her husband, come and do her honour, and give her a festal reception. And in this manner all collect together, and entertain and pay court to her, and she spends what she possesses among her relations and friends, in feasting and singing in dances and playing on musical instruments, and amusements of jugglers. And when the term fixed has ended, she dresses herself in her richest stuffs, and adorns herself with many precious jewels, and the rest of her property she divides amongst her children, relations and friends, and then mounts a horse with a great sound of music, and a large following. The horse must be grey, or very white if possible, for her to be seen better. And so they conduct her through the whole city, paying court to her as far as the place where the body of the husband was burned; and in the same grave they place much wood, with which they light a very great fire, and all round it they make a gallery with three or four steps, whither she ascends with all her jewels and robes; and when she is upon the top she takes three turns round it, and raises her hands to heaven, and worships towards the east three times. And having ended this, she calls her relations and friends, and to each

she gives a jewel of those which she wears: and all this with a very cheerful demeanour, not as though she was about to die. And after she has given them away, and there only remains a small cloth with which she is covered from the waist downwards, she says to the men, "See, gentlemen, how much you owe to your wives, who, whilst enjoying their freedom, burn themselves alive with their husbands." And to the women she says, "See, ladies, how much you owe to your husbands, for in this manner you ought to accompany them even in death." And when she has concluded uttering these words, they give her a pitcher full of oil, and she places it on her head and says her prayer, and takes three more turns and worships to the east, and casts the pitcher of oil into the pit where the fire is; and she springs into it, after the pitcher, with as much good will as though she were jumping into a pool of water. And the relations have ready for this occasion many pitchers and pots full of oil and butter, and dry wood, which they immediately throw in, so that a great a flame is at once kindled, that she is suddenly reduced to ashes. And afterwards they collect their ashes and cast them into flowing rivers.

3. Sati in Vijayanagar, Fernao Nuniz³⁰

This kingdom of Bisnaga is all heathen. The women, have the custom of burning themselves when their husbands die, and hold it an honour to do so. When therefore their husbands die they mourn with their relations and those of their husbands, but they hold that the wife who weeps beyond measure has no desire to go in search of her husband; and the mourning finished their relations speak to them, advising them to burn themselves and not to dishonour their generation. After that, it is said, they place the dead man on a bed with a canopy of branches and covered with flowers, and they put the woman on the back of a worthless horse, and she goes after them with many jewels on her, and covered with roses; she carries a mirror in her hand and in the other a branch of flowers, and (she goes accompanied by) many kinds of music, and his relations (go with her) with much pleasure. A man goes also playing on a small drum, and he sings songs to her telling her that she is going to join her husband, and she answers also in singing that so she will do. As soon as she arrives at the place where they are always burned she waits with the musicians till her husband is burned, whose body they place in a very large pit that has been made ready for it, covered with much firewood. Before they light the fire his mother or his nearest relative takes a vessel of water on the head and a firebrand in the hand, and goes three times round the pit, and at each round makes a hole in the pot; and when these three rounds are done breaks the pot, which is small, and throws the torch into the pit. Then they apply the fire, and when the body is burned comes the wife with all the feasters and washes her feet, and then a Brahman performs over her certain ceremonies according to

their law; and when he has finished doing this, she draws off with her own hand all the jewels that she wears, and divides them among her female relatives, and if she has sons she commends them to her most honoured relatives. When they have taken off all she has on, even her good clothes, they put on her some common yellow cloths, and her relatives take her hand and she takes a branch in the other, and goes singing and running to the pit where the fire is, and then mounts on some steps which are made high up by the pit. Before they do this they go three times round the fire, and then she mounts the steps and holds in front of her a mat that prevents here from seeing the fire. They throw into the fire a cloth containing rice, and another in which they carry betel leaves, and her comb and mirror with which she adorned herself, saying that all these are needed to adorn herself by her husband's side. Finally she takes leave of all, and puts a pot of oil on her head, and casts herself into the fire with such courage that it is a thing of wonder; and as soon as she throws herself in, the relatives are ready with firewood and quickly cover her with it, and after this is done they all raise loud lamentations. When a captain dies, however many wives he has they all burn themselves, and when the King dies they do the same. This is the custom throughout all the country of the heathen, except with the caste of people called Telugas [mostly Virasaivas], amongst whom the wives are buried alive with their husbands when they die. These go with much pleasure to the pit, inside of which are made two seats of earth, one for him and one for her, and they place each one on his own seat and cover them in little till they are covered up; and so the wife dies with the husband.

4. Sati in Vijayanagar, Caesaro Federici³¹

I rested in Bezeneger seven moneths, although in one moneth I might have discharged all my businesse, for it was necessarie to rest there until the wayes were cleere of Theeves, which at that time ranged up and downe. And in the time I rested there, I saw many strange and beastly deeds done by the Gentiles. First, when there is any Noble man or woman dead, they burne their bodies and if a married man die, his wife must burne herselfe alive, for the love of her husband, and with the body of her husband: so that when any man dyeth, his wife will take a moneths leave, two or three, or as shee will, to burne herselfe in, and that day being come, wherein shee ought to be burnt, that morning she goeth out of her house very early, either on Horsebacke or on an Elephant or else is borne by eight men on a small stage: in one of these orders she goeth, being apparellled like to Bride carried round about the Citie, with her haire downe about her shoulders, garnished with Jewels and Flowers, according to the estate of the partie, and they goe with as great joy as Brides doe in Venice to their Nuptials: she carrieth in her left hand a looking-glasse,

and in her right hand an arrow, and singeth through the Citie as passeth, and saith, that she goeth to sleepe with her deer spouse and husband. Shee is accompanied with her kindred and friends untill it be one or two of the clocke in the afternoone, then they go out of the Citie, and going along the Rivers side called Nigondin [Anegundi], which runneth under the walls of the Cities, untill they come unto a place where they use to make this burning of Women, being widdowes, there is prepared in this place a great square Cave, with a little pinnacle hard by it, foure or five steps up: the aforesaid Cave is full of dried wood. The woman being come thither, accompanied with a great number of people which come to see the thing, then they make ready a great banquet, and she that shee bee burned eateth with as great joy and gladnesse, as though it were her Wedding day: and the feast being ended, then they goe to dancing and singing a certaine time, according as she will. After this, the woman of her owne accord, commandeth them to make the fire in the square Cave where the drie wood is, and when it is kindled, they come and certifie her thereof, then presently she leaveth the feast, and taketh the neerest kinsman of her husband by the hand, and they both goe together to the banke of the foresaid River, where shee putteth off all her jewels and all her clothes, and giveth them to her parents or kinsfolke, and covering herselfe with a cloth, because shee will not bee seene of the people being naked, she throweth herselfe into the River, saying: O wretches, wash away yur sinnes. Comming out of the water, she rowleth herselfe into a yellow cloth of fourteene braces long: and againe she taketh her husbands kinsman by the hand, and they go up to the pinnacle of the square Cave wherein the fire is made. When shee is on the pinnacle, she talketh and reasoneth with the people, recommending unto them her children and kindred. Before the pinnacle they use to set a Mat, because they shall not see the fiercenesse of the fire, yet there are many that will have them plucke away, shewing therin an heart not fearfull, and that they are not affraid of that sight. When this silly woman hath reasoned with the people a good while to her content, there is another woman that taketh a pot with oyle, and sprinkleth it over her head, and with the same shee annointeth all her body and afterwards throweth the pot into the fornace, and both the woman and the pot goe together into the fire, and presently the people that are round about the fornace throw after her into the cave great pieces of wood so by this meanes, with the fire and with the blowes that shee hath with the wood throwen after her, she is quickly dead, and after this there groweth such sorrow and such lamentation among the people, that all their mirth is turned into howling and weeping, in such wise, that a man could scarce beare the hearing of it. I have seene many burnt in this manner, because my house was neere to the gate where they goe out to the place of burning [towards NE of Tiruvengalanatha, on the way to Vithala is rocky hill called Pagadanigudda,

on the road to which there are many memorial stones]: and when there dyeth any Great man, his Wife with all her Slaves with whom hee hath had carnall copulation, burne themselves together with him.

Also in this Kingdome I have seene amongst the base sort of people this use and order, that the man being dead, hee is carried to the place where they will make his sepulcher, and setting him as it were upright, then cometh his wife before him on his knees, casting her arme about his necke, with imbracing and clasping him, until such time as the Masons have made a wall round about them, and when the wall is as high as their neckes, there cometh a man behind the woman and strangleth her: then when shee is dead the workemen finish the wall over their heads, and so they lie buried both together.

5. Sati among Brammins, Jan Huygen van Linschoten³²

When the *Bramenes* die, all their friends assemble together, and make a hole in the ground, wherein they throwe much wood and other things: and if the man bee of any account, they cast in sweet Saunders, and other Spices, with Rice, Corne, and such like, and much Oyle, because the fire should burne the stronger.

Which done, they lay the dead Bramenes in it: then commeth his wife with musike and many of her nearest friends all singing certaine praises in commendation of her husbands life, putting her in comfort, and encouraging her to follow her husband, and goe with him into the other world. Then she taketh all her Jewels, and parteth them among her freinds, and so with a cheerful countenance, she leapeth into the fire, and is presently covered with Wood and Oyle: so she is quickly dead and with her Husbands body burned to ashes.

6. Sati at Agra, William Hawkins³³

...I have seen many proper women brought before the King, whom (by his commandment) none may burne without his leave and sight of them; I meane those of Agra. When any of these commeth, hee doth perswade them with many promises of gifts and living if they will live, but in my time no perswasion could prevaile, but burne they would. The King, seeing that all would not serve, giveth his leave for her to be carried to the fire, where she burneth herselfe alive with her dead husband.

7. Sati voluntary, not forced, Edward Terry³⁴

Their widowes marrie not; but, after the losse of their husbands, cut their haire and spend all their life following as neglected creatures; whence, to bee free from shame, many yong women are ambitious to die with honor (as they esteeme it), when their fiery love brings them to the flames (as they thinke) of martyrdome most willingly; following their dead husbands unto the fire, and

there imbracing are burnt with them; but this they doe voluntary, not compelled. The parents and friends of those women will most joyfully accompanie them, and when the wood is fitted for this hellish sacrifice and begins to burne, all the people assembled shoute and make a noyse, that the screeches of this tortured creature may not bee heard. Not much unlike the custome of the Ammonites, who, when they made their children passe through the fire to Moloch, caused certaine tabret or drums to sound, that their cry might not be heard.

8. Sati among Rajput in Agra, Francisco Pelsaert³⁵

When a Rajput dies, his wives (or rather his wife, for they marry only one if there is genuine love) allow themselves to be burnt alive, as is the practice among the banians or khattris, and in Agra this commonly occurs two or three times a week. It is not a very pleasant spectacle, but I witnessed it out of curiosity, when a woman who lived near our house declared to her friends, immediately on her husband's death, that she would be *sati*, which means that she would accompany him where he had gone, making the announcement with little lamentation, and as if her heart was sealed with grief...

The woman I have mentioned then went, with music and songs, to the Governor to obtain his permission. The Governor urged many sound arguments to show that what she proposed to do was a sin, and merely the inspiration of the devil to secure her voluntary death; and, because she was a handsome young woman of about 18 years of age, he pressed her strongly to dissuade her if possible from her undertaking, and even offered her 500 rupees yearly as long as she should live. He could, however, produce no effect, but she answered with resolute firmness that her motive was not [the fear of] poverty, but love for her husband, and even if she could have all the King's treasures in this world, they would be of no use to her, for she meant to live with her husband. This was her first and last word throughout, she seemed to be out of her senses, and she was taking up far too much time; so the Governor, since governors are not allowed by the King's orders to refuse these requests, gave his consent. Then she hurried off with a light step, as if she might be too late, till she reached the place, a little outside the city, where was a small hut, built of wood, roofed with straw, and decorated with flowers. There she took off all her jewels and distributed them among her friends, and also her clothes, which she disposed of in the same way, keeping only an undergarment. Then she took a handful of rice, and distributed it to all the bystanders; this being done, she embraced her friends and said her last farewells; took her baby, which was only a year old, kissed it, and handed it to her nearest friends; then ran to the hut where her dead husband lay, and kissed and embraced him eagerly. Then she [or they] took the fire and applied the brand, and the friends piled

wood before the door; everyone shouted out Ram! Ram! (the name of their god), the shouts continuing till they supposed she was dead. When the burning was over, everyone took a little of the ash of the bones, which they regard as sacred, and preserve. Surely this is as great a love as the women of our country bear to their husbands, for the deed was done not under compulsion but out of sheer love. At the same time there are hundreds, or even thousands, who do not do it, and there is no such reproach as is asserted by many, who write that those who neglect it incur the reproach of their caste.

9. Sati practiced by few, Pietro Della Valle³⁶

...this burning of Women upon the death of their Husbands is at their own choice to do it or not, and indeed few practice it; but she who does it acquires in the Nation a glorious name of Honour and Holiness. 'Tis most usual among great persons, who prize Reputation at a higher rate than others do; and in the death of Personages of great quality, to whom their Wives desire to do Honour by burning themselves quick. I heard related at my first coming that a *Ragia* [Raja], that is an Indian Prince (one of the many which are subject to the Moghol), being slain in a battle, seventeen of his wives were burnt alive together with his body; which in India was held for great Honour and Magnificence...

I have likewise heard it said that some Women are burnt against their own will, their Relations resolving to have it so for Honour of the Husband; and that they have been brought to the fire in a manner by force, and made besides themselves with things given them to eat and drink for this purpose, that they might more easily suffer themselves to be cast into the fire; but this the Indians directly deny, saying that force is not us'd to any, and it may be true, at least in Countries where Mahometans command, for there no Woman is suffered to be burnt without leave of the Governour of the place, to whom it belongs first to examine whether the women be willing; and for a Licence there is also paid a good sum of money. Nevertheless 'tis possible too that many Widows, being in the height of their passion taken at their word by their kindred who desire it, go to it afterwards with an ill will, not daring to deny those that exhort them thereunto, especially if oblig'd by their word, nor to discover their own mind freely to the Governour; things which amongst Women, with their natural fearfulness and modesty, easily happen.

10. Sati by a drummer's widow at Ikkeri, Pietro Della Valle³⁷

As we return'd home at night we met a Woman in the City of *Ikkeri*, who, her husband being dead, was resolv'd to burn herself, as 'tis the custom with many Indian Women. She rode on Horse-back about the City with face uncovered, holding a Looking-glass in one hand and a Lemon in the other, I

know not for what purpose; and beholding herself in the Glass, with a lamentable tone sufficiently pittiful to hear, went along I know not whither, speaking, or singing, certain words, which I understood not; but they told me they were a kind of Farewell to the World and herself; and indeed, being uttered with that passionateness which the Case requir'd and might produce they mov'd pity in all that heard them, even in us who understood not the Language. She was follow'd by many other Women and Men on foot, who, perhaps, were her Relations; they carry'd a great Umbrella over her, as all Persons of quality in *India* are wont to have, thereby to keep off the Sun, whose heat is hurtful and troublesome Before her certain Drums were sounded, whose noise she never ceas'd to accompany with her sad Ditties, or Songs; yet with a calm and constant Countenance, without tears, evidencing more grief for her Husband's death than her own, and more desire to go to him in the other world than regret for her own departure out of this: a Custom, indeed, cruel and barbarous, but, withall, of great generosity and virtue in such Women and therefore worthy of no small praise. They said she was to pass in this manner about the City I know not how many dayes, at the end of which she was to go out of the City and be burnt with more company and solemnity. If I can know when it will be I will not fail to go to see her and by my presence honor her Funeral with that compassionate affection which so great Conjugal Fidelity and Love seem to me to deserve...

November the sixteenth. I was told that the aforemention'd Woman, who had resolv'd to burn her self for her Husband's death, was to dye this Evening. But upon further enquiry at the Woman's House I understood that it would not be till after a few dayes more, and there I saw her sitting in a Court, or Yard, and other persons beating Drums about her. She was cloth'd all in white, and deck'd with many Neck-laces, Bracelets and other ornaments of Gold; on her Head she had a Garland of Flowers, spreading forth like the rayes of the Sun; in brief she was wholly in a Nuptial Dress and held a Lemon in her Hand, which is the usual Ceremony. She seem'd to be pleasant enough, talking and laughing in conversation, as a Bride would do in our Countries. She and those with her took notice of my standing there to behold her, and, conjecturing by my foreign Habit who I was, some of them came towards me. I told them by an Interpreter that I was a Person of a very remote Country, where we had heard by Fame that some Women in *India* love their Husbands so vehemently as when they dye to resolve to dye with them; and that now having intelligence that this Woman was such a one, I was come to see her, that so I might relate in my own Country that I had seen such a thing with my own Eyes. These people were well pleas'd with my coming, and she her self, having heard what I said, rose up from her seat and came to speak to me.

We discours'd together, standing, for a good while. She told me that her

name was *Giaccama*, of the Race *Terlenga* [Telinga], that her Husband was a Drummer; whence I wonder'd the more; seeing that Heroical Actions, as this undoubtedly ought to be judg'd, are very rare in people of low quality That it was about nineteen dayes since her Husband's death, that he had left two other Wives elder then she, whom he had married before her, (both which were present at this discourse) yet neither of them was willing to dye, but alledg'd for excuse that they had many Children. This argument gave me occasion to ask *Giaccama*, (who shew'd me a little Son of her own, about six or seven years old, besides a little Daughter she had) how she could perswade her self to leave her own little Children; and I told her, that she ought likewise to live rather than to abandon them at that age. She answer'd me that she left them well recommended to the care of an Uncle of hers there present, who also talk'd with us very cheerfully, as if rejoicing that his Kins-woman should do such an action; and that her Husband's other two remaining Wives would also take care of them. I insisted much upon the tender age of her Children, to avert her from her purpose by moving her to compassion for them, well knowing that no argument is more prevalent with Mothers than their Love and Affection towards their Children. But all my speaking was in vain, and she still answer'd me to all my Reasons, with a Countenance not onely undismay'd and constant, but even cheerful, and spoke in such a manner as shew'd that she had not the least fear of death. She told me also, upon my asking her that she did this of her own accord, was at her own liberty and not forc'd nor perswaded by any one.

Whereupon, I inquiring whether force were at any time us'd in this matter, they told me that ordinarily it was not, but onely sometimes amongst Persons of quality, when some Widow was left young, handsome, and so in danger of marrying again (which amongst them is very ignominious), or committing a worse fault; in such Cases the Friends of the deceas'd Husband, were very strict, and would constrain her to burn her self even against her own will, for preventing the disorders possible to happen in case she should live (a barbarous, indeed, and too cruel Law); but that neither force nor persuasion was used to *Giaccama*, and that she did it of her own free will; in which, as a magnanimous action, (as indeed it was) and amongst them of great honor, both her Relations and herself much glory'd. I ask'd concerning the Ornaments and Flowers she wore, and they told me that such was the Custom, in token of the *Masti*'s [maha-sati's] joy (they call the Women, who intends to burn her self for the death of her Husband, *Masti*) in that she, was very shortly, to go to him and therefore had reason to rejoice; whereas such Widows as will not dye remain in continual sadness and lamentations, shave their Heads and live in perpetual mourning for the death of their Husbands.

At last *Giaccama* caus'd one to tell me that she accounted my coming to

see her a great fortune, and held her self much honour'd, as well by my visit and presence as by the Fame which I should Carry of her to my own Country; and that before she dy'd she would come to visit me at my House, and also to ask me, as their custom is, that I would favour her with some thing by way of Alms towards the buying of fewel for the fire wherewith she was to be burnt. I answer'd her that I should esteem her visit and very willingly give her something; not for wood and fire wherein to burn her self, (for her death much displeas'd me, and I would gladly have dissuaded her from it, if I could) but to do something else therewith that herself most lik'd; and I promis'd her that, so far as my weak pen could contribute, her Name should remain immortal in the World. Thus I took leave of her, more sad for her death than she was, cursing the custom of *India* which is so unmerciful to Women. *Giaccama* was a Woman of about thirty years of age, of a Complexion very brown for an Indian and almost black, but of a good aspect, tall of stature, well shap'd and proportion'd. My Muse could not forbear from chanting her in a Sonnet which I made upon her death, and reserve among my Poetical Papers.

11. Sati not common, Reverend Henry Lord³⁸

...the examples be more rare now than in former times.

12. Governor's permission required for sati, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier³⁹

...it should be remarked that a woman cannot burn herself with the body of her husband without having received permission from the Governor of the place where she dwells, and those Governors who are Musalmans, hold this dreadful custom of self-destruction in horror, and do not readily give permission. On the other hand, it is only childless widows who can be reproached for not having loved their husbands if they have not had courage to burn themselves after their death, and to whom this want of courage will be for the remainder of their lives a cause of reproach. For widows who have children are not permitted under any circumstances to burn themselves with the bodies of their husbands; and so far from custom obliging them, it is ordained that they shall live to watch over the education of their children. Those to whom the Governors peremptorily refuse to grant permission to burn themselves pass the remainder of their lives in severe penances and in doing charitable deeds. There are some who frequent the great highways either to boil water with vegetables, and give it as a drink to passersby, or to keep fire always ready to light the pipes of those who desire to smoke tobacco. There are others among them who make a vow to eat nothing but what they find undigested in the droppings of oxen, cows, and buffaloes, and do still more absurd things.

The Governor, seeing that all the remonstrances with women, who are

urged to burn themselves even by their relatives and by the Brahmins, fail to turn them from the damnable resolution which they have taken to die in so cruel a fashion, when his secretary indicates by a sign that he has received a bribe, at length allows them to do what they wish, and in a rage tells all the idolaters who accompany them that they may 'go to the devil.'

Immediately on permission being obtained, all kinds of music are heard, and with the sound of drums, flutes, and other instruments, all go to the house of the deceased, and thence, as I have said, accompany the body to the margin of a river or tank, where it is to be burned.

All the relatives and friends of the widow who desires to die after her husband congratulate her beforehand on the good fortune which she is about to acquire in the other world, and on the glory which all the members of the caste derive from her noble resolution. She dresses herself as for her wedding-day, and is conducted in triumph to the place where she is to be burnt. A great noise is made with instruments of music and the voices of the women who follow, singing hymns to the glory of the unhappy one who is about to die. The Brahmins accompanying her exhort her to show resolution and courage, and many Europeans believe that in order to remove the fear of that death which man naturally abhors, she is given some kind of drink that takes away her senses and removes all apprehension which the preparations for her death might occasion. It is for the interest of the Brahmins that these unhappy women maintain the resolution they have taken to burn themselves, for all the bracelets which they wear, both on arms and legs, with their earrings and rings, belong of right to the Brahmins, who search for them in the ashes after the women are burnt. According to the station and wealth of the women, the bracelets, earrings, and rings are either of gold or silver; the poorest wear them of copper and tin; but as for precious stones, they do not wear them at all when going to be burnt...

13. Sati by the widows of Rama Raya of Vijayanagar, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier⁴⁰

The Raja of Vellore [Rama Raja of Vijayanagar], of whom I have spoken in the first book of this account of India, having at the same time lost both this town and his life by the victory which the General of the King of Bijapur gained over him, there was great mourning in all his Court. Eleven of the women of his house-hold were keenly affected by his death, and all resolved to burn themselves when his body was burnt. The General of the Bijapur army having heard of this resolve, thought that he would be able to dissuade these desperate women by flattering them, and promising them all kinds of good treatment. But seeing that this was of no effect, and that they were absolutely determined to be burnt with the body of the deceased, he directed that they

should be kept shut up in a room. He who received this order, on going to execute it, was told by the infuriated women that it was in vain, that he might do his best, but that it was useless to keep them prisoners, and that if they were not allowed to do what they wished, they had resolved that in three hours there would not be one of them left alive. He jeered at this threat, and would not believe that it could be carried into effect. But the officer in charge of the women, on opening the door at the end of three hours, found the eleven all dead and stretched on the ground, without any apparent indications that they had hastened their deaths, either by steel, rope, or poison, nor could anyone see how they had been able to make away with themselves. On this occasion it was assuredly the case that the evil spirit had played his game....

14. Some instances of sati witnessed, Francois Bernier⁴¹

In regard to the women who actually burn themselves, I was present at so many of those shocking exhibitions that I could not persuade myself to attend any more, nor is it without a feeling of horror that I revert to the subject. I shall endeavour, nevertheless, to describe what passed before my eyes; but I cannot hope to give you an adequate conception of the fortitude displayed by these infatuated victims during the whole of the frightful tragedy: it must be seen to be believed.

(a) When travelling from *Ahmedabad* to *Agra*, through the territories of *Rajas*, and while the caravan halted under the shade of a banyan-tree until the cool of the evening, news reached us that a widow was then on the point of burning herself with the body of her husband. I ran at once to the spot, and going to the edge of a large and nearly dry reservoir, observed at the bottom a deep pit filled with wood: the body of a dead man extended thereon; a woman seated upon the same pile; four or five *Brahmens* setting fire to it in every part; five middleaged women, tolerably well dressed, holding one another by the hand, singing and dancing round the pit; and a great number of spectators of both sexes.

The pile, whereon large quantities of butter [ghee] and oil had been thrown, was soon enveloped in flames, and I saw the fire catch the woman's garments, which were impregnated with scented oil, mixed with sandalwood powder and saffron; but I could not perceive the slightest indication of pain or even uneasiness in the victim, and it was said that she pronounced with emphasis the words *five, two*, to signify that this being the fifth time she had burned herself with the same husband, there were wanted only two more similar sacrifices to render her perfect, according to the doctrine of the transmigration of souls: as if a certain reminiscence, or prophetic spirit, had been

imparted to her at that moment of her dissolution.

But this was only the commencement of the infernal tragedy. I thought that the singing and dancing of the five women were nothing more than some unmeaning ceremony; great therefore was my astonishment when I saw that the flames having ignited the clothes of one of these females, she cast herself head-foremost into the pit. The horrid example was followed by another woman, as soon as the flames caught her person: the three women who remained then took hold of each other by the hand, resuming the dance with perfect composure; and after a short lapse of time, they also precipitated themselves, one after the other, into the fire.

I soon learnt the meaning of these multiplied sacrifices. The five women were slaves, and having witnessed the deep affliction of their mistress in consequence of the illness of her husband, whom she promised not to survive, they were so moved with compassion that they entered into an engagement to perish by the same flames that consumed their beloved mistress.

Many persons whom I then consulted on the subject would fain have persuaded me that an excess of affection was the cause why these women burn themselves with their deceased husbands; but I soon found that this abominable practice is the effect of early and deeply rooted prejudices. Every girl is taught by her mother that it is virtuous and laudable in a wife to mingle her ashes with those of her husband, and that no woman of honour will refuse compliance with the established custom. These opinions men have always inculcated as an easy mode of keeping wives in subjection, of securing their attention in times of sickness, and of deterring them from administering poison to their husbands...

(b) As I was leaving *Sourate* for *Persia*, I witnessed the devotion and burning of another widow: several English-men and Dutchmen and Monsieur *Chardin* of *Paris* [the celebrated traveller] were present. She was of the middle age, and by no means uncomely. I do not expect, with my limited powers of expression, to convey a full idea of the brutish boldness, or ferocious gaiety depicted on this woman's countenance; of her undaunted step; of the freedom from all perturbation with which she conversed, and permitted herself to be washed; of the look of confidence, or rather of insensibility which she cast upon us; of her easy air, free from dejection; of her lofty carriage, void of embarrassment, when she was examining her little cabin, composed of dry and thick millet straw, with an intermixture of small wood; when she entered into that cabin, sat down upon the

funeral pile, placed her deceased husband's head in her lap, took up a torch, and with her own hand lighted the fire within, while I know not how many *Brahmens* were busily engaged in kindling it without...

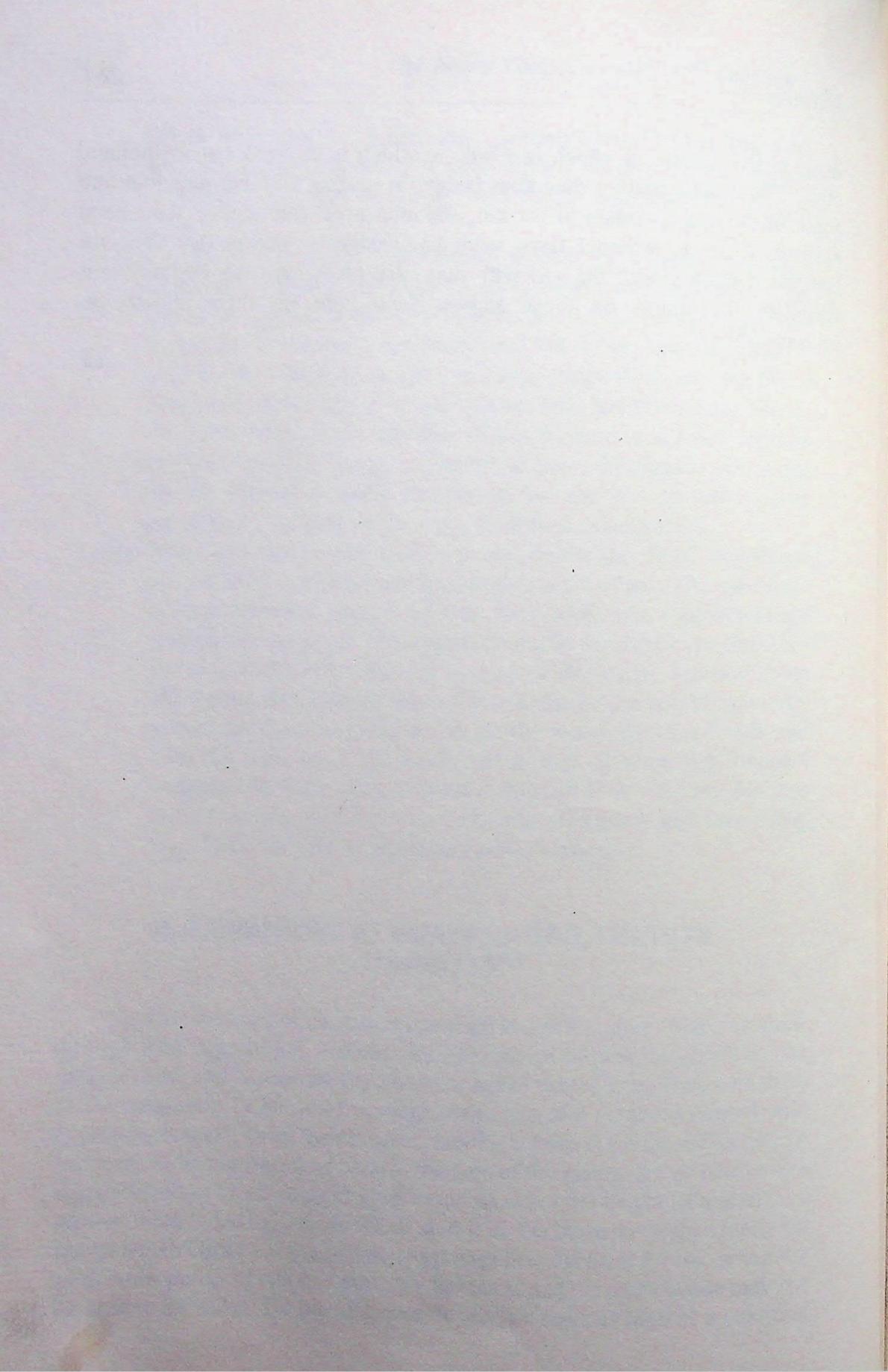
- (c) It is true, however, that I have known some of these unhappy widows shrink at the sight of the piled wood; so as to leave no doubt on my mind that they would willingly have recanted, if recantation had been permitted by the merciless *Brahmens*; but those demons excite or astound the affrighted victims, and even thrust them into the fire. I was present when a poor young woman, who had fallen back five or six paces from the pit, was thus driven forward; and I saw another of these wretched beings struggling to leave the funeral pile when the fire increased around her person, but she was prevented from escaping by the long poles of the diabolical executioners...
- (d) At *Lahor* I saw a most beautiful young widow sacrificed, who could not, I think, have been more than twelve years of age. The poor little creature appeared more dead than alive when she approached the dreadful pit: the agony of her mind cannot be described; she trembled and wept bitterly; but three or four of the *Brahmens*, assisted by an old woman who held her under the arm, forced the unwilling victim toward the fatal spot, seated her on the wood, tied her hands and feet, lest she should run away, and in that situation the innocent creature was burnt alive. I found it difficult to repress my feelings and to prevent their bursting forth into clamorous and unavailing rage; but restrained by prudential considerations...

H. DEVADASIS AT VIJAYANAGAR, DUARTE BARBOSA⁴²

And another sort of idolatry is practised in this kingdom. Many women, through their superstition, dedicate the maidenhead of their daughters to one of their idols, and as soon as they reach the age of twelve years they take them to the monastery or house of worship where that idol is, accompanied with exceeding respect, by all their kindred, holding a festival for the aid as though she were to be married. And outside the gate of the monastery or church is a square block of black stone of great hardness about the height of a man, and around it are wooden gratings which shut it in. On these are placed many oil lamps which burn by night, and these gratings they decorate for the ceremony with many pieces of silk that they may be shut in and the folk outside may not be able to see them. On the said stone is another stone as high as a stooping

man, in the middle of which is a hole in which is inserted a sharp-pointed stick. The maid's mother then goes inside the grating with her daughter and some of the other women of her kin, and after great ceremonies, have been performed "as to which I have scant knowledge by reason that they are concealed from view," the girl with that stick takes her own virginity and sprinkles the blood on those stones, "and herewith their idolatry is accomplished."

□



Chapter 12

Hindu Kingdoms and Rulers

- A. Vijayanagar
- B. The Zamorin
- C. Shivaji

A. VIJAYANAGAR

1. Founding of the kingdom

(a) A hermit's blessings, Fernao Nuniz¹

The king going one day a hunting, as was often his wont, to a mountain on the other side of the river of Nagumdy, [Anegundi] where now is the city of Bisnaga, — which at that time was a desert place in which much hunting took place, and which the King had reserved for his own amusement, — being in it with his dogs and appurtenances of the chase, a hare rose up before him, which, instead of fleeing from the dogs, ran towards them and bit them all, so that none of them dared go near it for the harm that it did them. And seeing this, the King, astonished at so feeble a thing biting dogs which had already caught for him a tiger and a lion, judged it to be not really a hare but (more likely) some prodigy; and he at once turned back to the city of Nagumdy.

And arriving at the river, he met a hermit who was walking along the bank, a man holy among them, to whom he told what had happened concerning the hare. And the hermit, wondering at it, said to the King that he should turn back with him and shew him the place where so marvelous a thing had happened; and being there, the hermit said that the King ought in that place to erect houses in which he could dwell, and build a city, for the prodigy meant that this would be the strongest city in the world, and that it would never be captured by his enemies, and would be the chief city in the kingdom. And so the King did, and on that very day began work on his houses, and he enclosed

the city round about; and that done he left Nagumdy and soon filled the new city with people. And he gave it the name Vydajuna, for so the hermit called himself who had bidden him construct it [Vidyaranya, 'forest of learning,' believed to be the Sringeri Guru, Madhavacharya]; but in course of time this name has become corrupted, and it is now called Bisnaga. And after the hermit was dead the King raised a very grand temple in honour of him and gave much revenue to it. And ever since, in his memory, the Kings of Bisnaga, on the day when they are raised to be kings, have in honour of the hermit, to enter this house before they enter their own; and they offer many prayers in it, and celebrate many feasts there every year.

(b) A vast kingdom, Tome Pires²

The kingdom of Narsinga is large and very important. It is bordered on one side by the kingdom of the Deccan and Goa, and that part is Kanarese, the chief city of which is Vijayanagar (*Bizanaguar*) where the king is in residence. On the ganges side, where the river flows into the sea it marches with part of the dominions of the kingdom of Bengal and with the kingdom of Orissa, and inland it is bounded by the mountains of Delhi and on the ocean side by the provinces of Malabar and Choromandel and *Benua Quilim*.

In older times the kingdom of Narsinga was much greater than it is now and embraced almost the whole of the Deccan as far as Bengal, including Orissa and all the maritime provinces. Now it is not so big because the Deccan, Goa, Malabar and Orissa have each a king; but still it is large. With the exception of the kingdom of Delhi, this is the largest province in these parts, and they say, in India.

2. King of Vijayanagar

(a) Appearance of king, Domingo Paes³

This king is of medium height, and of fair complexion and good figure, rather fat than thin; he has on his face signs of smallpox. He is the most feared and perfect king that could possibly be, cheerful of disposition and very merry; he is one that seeks to honour foreigners, and receives them kindly, asking about all their affairs whatever their condition may be. He is a great ruler and a man of much justice, but subject to sudden fits of rage, and this is his title - 'Crisnarao Macagao' [Krishnaraya maharaja] king of kings, lord of the greater lords of India, lord of the three seas and of the land. He has this title because he is by rank a greater lord than any, by reason of what he possesses in armies and territories, but it seems that he has [in fact] nothing compared to what a man like him ought to have, so gallant and perfect is he in all things.

(b) King never wears same garments twice, Fernao Nuniz⁴

The King never puts on any garment more than once, and when he takes it off he at once delivers it to certain officers who have charge of this duty, and they render an account; and these garments are never given to any one. This is considered to show great state. His cloths are silk cloths (*pachoiis*) of very fine material and worked with gold, which are worth each one ten *pardaos*; and they wear at times *bajuris* of the same sort, which are like shirts with a skirt; and on the head they wear caps of brocade which they call *culaes*, and one of these is worth some twenty cruzados. When he lifts it from his head he never again puts it on.

(c) In the reign of Achyuta Raya, everything in use in palace is of gold or silver, Fernao Nuniz⁵

All the services of this house, with the things which they make use of, is of silver and gold that is to say basins and bowls, stools, ewers, and other vessels of that sort. The bedsteads in which his wives sleep are covered and adorned with silver plates. Every wife has her bed in which she sleeps, and that of the King is plated and lined and has all its legs of gold, its mattress of silk, and its round bolster worked round the ends with large seed pearls. It has four pillows of the same pattern for the feet, and has no other sheet than a silk cloth on top. He always carries with him a mosquito curtain with a frame of silver, and he has a house made of pieces of iron in which is contained a very large bed, which is intended for such time as he takes the field...

Served in palace by six hundred servants

In his palace within the gates he is served by women and eunuchs and servants numbering fully five or six hundred; and these wives of the King all have their own officials for their service, each for herself, just as the King has within the gates, but these are all women.

Quarters of wives, over two hundred cows kept for the ladies

The palaces of the King are large and with large rooms; they have cloisters like monasteries, with cells, and in each one is one of his wives, and with each of these ladies is her maid-servant; and when the King retires to rest he passes through these cloisters, and his wives stand at the doors and call him in; but these are not the principal wives, they are the daughters of captains and nobles of the country. Inside the gates of the palace they say that there are over two hundred milch-cows, from the milk of which they make butter for these ladies to eat...

King's retinue

When the King rides out there go with him usually two hundred horsemen of his guard whom he pays, and a hundred elephants, and this in addition to the captains, forty or fifty in number, who are always in attendance with their soldiers. He takes with him two thousand men with shields (*adargueiros* in the original), all men of good position, ranged in order on the flanks, and in front goes the chief *alcaid* with about thirty horsemen having canes in their hands like porters; the chief *alcaid* bears a different wand; he who is now the chief *alcaid* of this King is called Chinapanaique (Cinnappanayaka). Behind with the rear guard goes the Master of the Horse with two hundred horsemen, and behind the cavalry go a hundred elephant, and on their backs ride men of high estate. He has in front of him twelve destriers, saddled, and in front of these horses go five elephants, specially for the King's person, and in front of these elephants go about five-and-twenty horsemen with banners in their hands, and with drums and trumpets and other music playing so loudly that you can hear nothing. Before these goes a great drum carried by men at the sides, and they go now and then striking it; the sound of this is heard a long distance off; and this drum they call *picha*. After the King has mounted he counts the two hundred horsemen and the hundred elephants and the shield-bearers of the guard, and whoever is missing is severely punished and his property confiscated.

(d) Use of oil torches at night by king and nobles, Fernao Nuniz⁶

The captains and principal people use at night torches of oil, from four to twelve torches (according to rank), those of highest rank having twelve at most. The King, however, must have a hundred or a hundred and fifty torches.

3. Military might of Vijayanagar

(a) Fourty thousand horsemen, Ludovico Di Varthema⁷

He is a very powerful king, and keeps up constantly 40,000 horsemen. And you must know that a horse is worth at least 300, 400 and 500 *pardai*, and some are purchased for 800 *pardai*, because horses are not produced there, neither are many mares found there, because those kings who hold the seaports do not allow them to be brought there.

The said king also possesses 400 elephants and some dromedaries [onehumped camels], which dromedaries run with great swiftness.

(b) Five hundred elephants, two hundred ready for war, Tome Pires⁸

This King is a warrior and he often goes into the field with more than forty thousand mounted men and a large number on foot. He must have five hundred elephants, two hundred of which are for war. He is always at war,

sometimes with Orissa, sometimes with the Deccan and sometimes inside his own country. He has great captains and many mercenaries.

(c) King distributes horses to his lords; maintains kitchens for the animals, Duarte Barbosa⁹

The King of Narsyngua has always more than nine hundred elephants, which he purchases for one thousand five hundred and for two thousand cruzados each; they are of great size and beauty, and he ever takes them with him for reasons of state as well as for war. He has also upwards of twenty thousand horses, each of which costs him from four to six hundred cruzados; and some specially chosen for his own use he buys for nine hundred or a thousand cruzados. These horses are distributed among the great lords, to whom the king makes them over for maintenance, and they must continually give him accounts of them. In the same way he gives them to other noblemen. To the kings he gives one horse each for his own riding, a groom and a slave-girl for his service, and a monthly allowance of four or five *pardaos* as the case may be; and daily supplies as well for the horse and groom, which they fetch from the great kitchens kept up by the King to feed his elephants and horses. These are in many large houses where are very many great copper cauldrons, and in these are many officials who look after the preparation of the food and others who prepare it. The food is rice boiled with chick-peas and other pulse; and each man as I have said comes to draw the ration of his horse or elephant. And if they perceive that any horse or elephant thrives (not) when in charge of the man to whom it was entrusted they take it away from him and give him a worse. And in a similar way, you may well think, they act towards each man who keeps his horse or elephant in good condition. The great lords act in the same way their vassals...

King has over one lakh soldiers and between five-six thousand women in his train

Between both horse and foot the King of Narsyngua has more than a hundred thousand men of war continually in his pay, and five or six thousand women whom also he pays to march in his train, and wheresoever he wishes to make war he distributes them according to the number of men whom he sends forth, and he says that war cannot be waged where there are not women. These are all unmarried, great musicians, dancers and acrobats, and very quick and nimble at their performances.

(d) King on battlefield, Duarte Barbosa¹⁰

He of Narsyngua seldom goes to the war himself but sends his captains and armies, and when the war has arrived at such a point that he considers it

necessary to go in person, and when he has settled in his Council that he will go; on an appointed day the king goes forth to an open plain as if he were going for his pleasure, mounted on an elephant or in a palanquin, each finely adorned with gold and precious stones, accompanied by a great number of horsemen and footmen, and many elephants well-drawn up in line on the right before him, covered with scarlet and silken cloths. When he arrives at the plain they bring him a horse whereon he resides holding in his hand a bow and an arrow, which arrow he lets fly towards the country with which he is about to wage war. He then gives out in how many days from that time he will start, and this news runs through the whole city and kingdom. Thence he goes forth at once and fixes his camping ground in the open country where he awaits the time fixed for his advance. When this time is fulfilled he issues a proclamation ordering that the whole city shall be at once set on fire, saving the palaces, fortresses and temples, and those of certain lords which are not thatched, and this he does in order that all men shall attend with their wives and sons and households, all are ordered to go thither, for he says that men fight better if they have the responsibility of wives and children and household good on them. To all he gives good pay, and more especially to the numerous unmarried women, very many of whom they take with them, some of whom are much respected and of great importance, rich and beautiful, wherefore those who are enamoured of them fight better to do them service though they fight not themselves...

(e) A million fighting troops always battle-ready; most feared king, Domingo Paes¹¹

...this king has continually a million fighting troops, in which are included 35,000 cavalry in armour; all these are in his pay, and he has these troops always together and ready to be despatched to any quarter whenever such may be necessary. I saw, being in this city of Bisnara, the king despatch a force against a place, one of those which he has by the sea-coast; and he sent fifty captains with 150,000 soldiers, amongst whom were many cavalry. He has many elephants, and when the king wishes to show the strength of his power to any of his adversaries amongst the three kings bordering on his kingdom, they say that he puts into the field two million soldiers; in consequence of which he is the most feared king of any in these parts. And although he takes away so many men from his kingdom, it must not be thought that the kingdom remains of men; it is so full that it would seem to you as if he had never taken away a man, and this by reason of the many and great merchants that are in it.

(f) Size and costs tremendous, Fernao Nuniz¹²

This King has continually fifty thousand paid soldiers, amongst whom

are six thousand horsemen who belong to the palace guard, to which six thousand belong the two hundred who are obliged to ride with him. He has also twenty thousand spearmen and shield-bearers (adargueiros), and three thousand men to look after the elephants in the stables; he has sixteen hundred grooms who attend to the horses, and has also three hundred horse trainers and two thousand artificers, namely blacksmiths, masons, and carpenters and washermen who wash clothes.

These are the people he has and pays every day; he gives them their allowance at the gate of the palace. To the six thousand horsemen the King gives horses free and gives provision for them every month, and all these horses are marked with the King's mark; when they die they are obliged to take the piece of skin containing the mark to Madanarque, the chief master of the horse so that he may give them another, and these horses which he gives are mostly country-breds which the King buys, twelve or fifteen for a thousand *pardaos*.

Yearly buys thirteen thousand horses

The King every year buys thirteen thousand horses of Ormuz, and country-breds, of which he chooses the best for his own stables, and he gives the rest to his captains, and gains much money by them; because after taking out the good Persian horses, he sells those which are country-bred, and gives five for a thousand *pardaos*, and they are obliged to pay him the money for them within the month of September; and with the money so obtained he pays for the Arabs that he buys of the Portuguese, in such a way that his captains pay the cost of the whole without anything going out of the Treasury.

(g) Army and state revenues, Domingo Paes¹³

Should any one ask what revenues this king possesses, and what his treasure is that enables him to pay so many troops, since he has so many and such great lords in his kingdom, who, the greater part of them, have themselves revenues, I answer thus: These captains whom he has over these troops of his are the nobles of his of the kingdom; they are lords, and they hold the city, and the towns and villages of the kingdom; there are captains amongst them who have a revenue of a million and a million a half [read million and million and a half] of *pardaos* [Varaha became Pardao for the Portuguese, the coin was then called 'varahagadyana'], others a hundred thousand *pardaos*, others two hundred, three hundred or five hundred thousand *pardaos*, and as each one has revenue so the king fixes for him the number of troops he must maintain, in foot, horse, and elephant. These troops are always ready for duty, whenever they may be called out and wherever they may have to go; and in this way he has this million of fighting men always ready. Each of these captains labours to turn out the best troops he can get because he pays them their salaries;

and in this review there were the finest young men possible to be seen or that ever could be seen, for in all this array I did not see a man that would act the coward. Besides maintaining these troops, each captain has to make his annual payments to the king, and the king has his own salaried troops to whom he gives pay. He has eight hundred elephants attached to his person, and five hundred horses always in his stables, and for the expenses of these horses and elephants he has devoted the revenues that he receives from this city of Bisnaga. You may well imagine how great these expenses may be, and besides these that of the servants who have the care of the horses and elephants; and by this you will be able to judge what will be the revenue of this city.

4. Feudatories and administration

(a) The feudatories, Tome Pires¹⁴

Now you are in the last kingdom of the First India, which is called the province of the Kanarese (*Canarijis*). It is bounded on one side by the kingdom of Goa, and by Anjediva (Amgadiva), and on the other by Middle India or Malabar India. Inland is the king of Narsinga, whose language is Kanarese, which is different from that of the Deccan and of the kingdom of Goa. There are two kings along the seacoast and a few small regions. They are all heathens and vassals of the king of Narsinga. They are a civilized people, warriors, and practised in the use of arms both on sea and land. It is a cultivated land, with important towns.

In the land of the Kanarese from Anjediva to Mangalore there are Mirjan (*Mjrgeu*), Honavar (*Onar*), Bhatkal (*Baticala*), Basrur (*Bacalor*), Barkur (*Bacanor*), Vdipiram (*Udipi*), Mangalore (*Mamgallor*). All these are trade ports. From Honawar and Mirjan to Anjediva belongs to the King of Gersoppa (*Garcopa*) who neighbours on Goa (and is) for the king of Narsinga; Bhatkal, with Basrur and other inland towns, has a king; the other four ports have captains. They are all vassals of the king of Gersoppa and pay their revenues to him.

(b) Nobles like renters, Fernao Nuniz¹⁵

These nobles are like renters who hold all the land from the King, and besides keeping all these people they have to pay their cost; they also pay to him every year sixty lakhs of rents as royal dues. The lands, they say, yield a hundred and twenty lakhs of which they must pay sixty to the King, and the rest they retain for the pay of the soldiers and the expenses of the elephants which they are obliged to maintain. For this reason the common people suffer much hardship, those who hold the lands being so tyrannical. Of these sixty lakhs that the king has of revenue every year he does not enjoy a larger sum than twenty-five lakhs, for the rest is spent on his horses, and elephants and

foot-soldiers, and cavalry, whose cost he defrays.

During his feasts and the almsgiving to his temples all these captains, who are thus like renters, must always attend the court, and of those whom this King always has about him and by whom he is accompanied in his court there are more than two hundred. These are obliged always to be present with the King, and must always maintain the full number of soldiers according to their obligations, for if he finds that they have a less number they are severely punished and their estates confiscated. These nobles are never suffered to settle themselves in cities or towns because they would there be beyond reach of his hand; they only go thither sometimes. But a concession is granted to the kings that are subject to him, namely they do not go to court unless they are summoned, and from their own cities they send to him their rents or tributes; yet the King of Bengapor is obliged to be always in camp, and he goes to court twice in the year.

(c) Feudatories kept informed of happenings at court, Fernao Nuniz¹⁶

The kings who are subject are these, besides this King of Bengapor, namely the King of Gasopa (*Gersoppa*) and the King of Bacanor and the King of Calecu [either 'Kaleku', Calicut or 'Kalasa' in Karnataka] and he of Batecala and these when they come to the Court of Bisnaga are not held in higher esteem than any other captains, either by the King or by the other nobles.

The captains and lords of this kingdom of Bisnaga, as well those who are at Court as those who are away from it, have each one his secretary who goes to the palace in order to write to him and let him know what the King is doing; and they manage so that nothing takes place of which they do not soon know, and day and night they are always in the palace.

(d) Honouring the nobles with fans made of cow's tail; scarves, shawls, betel leaves, Fernao Nuniz¹⁷

The greatest mark of honour that this King of Bisnaga confers on a noble consists of two fans ornamented with gold and precious stones, made of the white tails of certain cows, he gives them bracelets also. Everything which the noble receives is placed on the ground. The King confers very high honour, too, if he permits a certain one to kiss [touch] his feet, for he never gives his hands to be kissed by any one. When he wishes to please his captains, or persons from whom he has received or wishes to receive good service, he gives them scarves of honour ['Salusamarambha', or honouring a person with a shawl along with money, betel leaves etc.] for their personal use, which is a great honour; and this he does each year to the captains at the time that they pay him their land-rents.

(e) The king's officers, Fernao Nuniz¹⁸

The officers of the King who go about the kingdom are these: – First the minister (*reedor*) of the kingdom, who is the second person in it, then the treasurer, with the scribes of the King's own lands, the chief treasurer, and the commander of the palace guards (*o porteiro moor*), the treasurer of the jewels, the chief master of the horse. The King has no controller of the revenues nor other officers, nor officers of his house, but only the captains of his kingdom....

(f) Even-handed justice; even powerful not spared, Duarte Barbosa¹⁹

The said king has a certain house as a hall of audience, where he is present on certain days with his governors and officials to hear the correspondence and attend to the administration of the kingdom. He punishes severely those who deserve it, and rewards the good with many honours and thanks. When he finds any great Lord or his relation guilty of any crime, he sends for him, and (as among them all go in great state) they come in rich litters borne by their servants, with many led horses and mounted men. On arrival at the palace the king is informed, and orders him to enter, and if he does not give a just excuse for his fault, "he chastises him in words as thoroughly as he deserves, and besides this, takes from him half of his revenues", [he immediately order him to be stripped and stretched on the ground and given a severe beating; and if this person happens to be his own near relative and a great lord, the King himself beats him with his own hand, and after he has been well beaten, he orders that rich investments should be given him from his wardrobe, and be taken in his palanquin very honourably with music and rejoicing to his own house.]

(g) Method of seeking justice, Fernao Nuniz²⁰

When any one suffers wrong and wishes to represent his case to the King he shows how great is his suffering by lying flat on his face on the ground till they ask him what it is he wants. If perchance, he wishes to speak to the King while he is riding, he takes the shaft of a spear and ties a branch to it and thus goes along calling out. Then they make room for him, and he makes his complaint to the King; and it is there and then settled without more ado, and the King orders a captain, one of those who go with him, to do at once what the suppliant asks. If he complains that he was robbed in such and such a province and in such and such a road, the King sends immediately for the captain of that province, even though he be at court, and the captain may be seized and his property taken if he does not catch the thief. In the same way the chief bailiff is obliged to give an account of the robberies in the capital, and in consequence very few thefts take place; and even if some

are committed, you give some little present and a description of the man who stole from you, and they will soon know by the agency of the wizards whether the thief be in the city or not; for there are very powerful wizards in this country. Thus there are very few thieves in the land.

(h) Crime and punishment, Fernao Nuniz²¹

The punishments that they inflict in this kingdom are these: for a thief, whatever theft he commits, howsoever little it be, they forthwith cut off a foot and a hand, and if his theft be a great one he is hanged with a hook under his chin. If a man outrages a respectable woman or a virgin he has the same punishment, and if he does any other such violence his punishment is of a like kind. Nobles who become traitors are sent to be impaled alive on a wooden stake thrust through the belly, and people of the lower orders, for whatever crime they commit, he forthwith commands to cut off their heads in the market-place, and the same for a murder unless the death was the result of a duel. For great honour is done to those who fight in a duel, and they give the estate of the dead man to the survivor; but no one fights a duel without first asking leave of the minister, who forthwith grants it. These are the common kinds of punishments, but they have others more fanciful; for when the King so desires, he commands a man to be thrown to the elephants, and they tear him in pieces. The people are so subject to him that if you told a man on the part of the King that he must stand still in a street holding a stone on his back all day till you released him, he would do it.

5. Prosperity of Kingdom

Heavy traffic in precious stones

(a) Gems trade prized, Duarte Barbosa²²

...the King possesses great cities wherein dwell many merchants, both Moors and Heathen, and there is great traffic chiefly in precious stones, which are held in great esteem in that kingdom; which trade is greatly honoured there. The King possesses a great treasure thereof, and boasts much of this. When he would know what any stone is he sends for it, for he says that what price soever was paid for it, that same price he will pay to make it his own.

(b) Diamond mines, trade in gems, brocades, Duarte Barbosa²³

Here there is a diamond-mine [in Malyavanta Raghunatha hill in Hampi?] as there is also in the kingdom of Daquem, whence are obtained many good diamonds; all other precious stones are brought hither for sale from Peguu and Ceilam [Ceylon], and from Ormus (and Cael) [town of Kayal, in Tinnevelly, Gulf

of Manar, celebrated for its pearl fisheries] they bring pearls and seed-pearls. These precious stones circulate here more freely than elsewhere, because of the great esteem in which they are held (for they deck their persons with them, for which reason they collect here in great quantities). Here also is used great store of the brocades of poorer quality brought for sale from China (and Alexandria), (and much cloth dyed scarlet-in-grain and other colours and coral worked into paternosters and in branches), "also metals both wrought and unwrought" copper in abundance, quick-silver, vermillion, saffron, rosewater, great store of opium, sanders-wood, aloes-wood, camphor, musk (of which a great quantity is consumed yearly, as they use to anoint themselves there-with), and scented materials. Likewise much pepper is used here and everywhere throughout the kingdom, which they bring hither from Malabar on asses and pack-cattle.

Agricultural prosperity

(c) Land fertile, rice, corn, grain aplenty, Domingo Paes²⁴

These dominions are very well cultivated and very fertile, and are provided with quantities of cattle, such as cows, buffaloes, and sheep; also of birds, both those belonging to the hills and those reared at home, and this in greater abundance than in our tracts. The land has plenty of rice and Indian corn, grains [probably jowar and other varieties of millets unknown to Portuguese], beans, and other kind of crops which are not sown in our parts; also an infinity of cotton. Of the grains there is a great quantity, because, besides being used as food for men, it is also used for horses, since there is no other kind of barley; and this country has also much wheat, and that good.

(d) Much betel, areca, Tome Pires²⁵

The whole country is well cultivated, large, and good....It has much betel and areca.

(e) Sea trade and ports, Tome Pires²⁶

As for *Baira Vera*, Barkur, *Vdipiram* and *Mangalore*, they are all ports for ships and merchants, who trade with Cambay and with the kingdoms of Goa and the Deccan and Ormuz, taking the products of the country and bringing others in exchange. There are important captains in these ports, with garrisons of men. Their revenues are paid to the king of Narsinga. The king derives large revenues from this country of Kanara, both from the seaports and from coast, and he has fortresses, such as they use, on the sea coast, but the most powerful fortresses are formed by the mouths of the rivers.

(f) A treasury kept sealed, opened only in emergencies, Domingo Paes²⁷

...the previous kings of this place for many years past have held it a custom to maintain a treasury, which treasury, after the death of each, is kept locked and sealed in such a way that it cannot be seen by any one, nor opened, nor do the kings who succeed to the kingdom open them or know what is in them. They are not opened except when the kings have great need, and thus the kingdom has great supplies to meet its needs. This king has made his treasury different from those of the previous kings, and he puts in it every year ten million *pardaos*, without taking from them one *pardo* more than for the expenses of his house. The rest remains for him, over and above these expenses and of the expenses in the houses of his wives, of whom I have already told you that he keeps near him twelve thousand women; from this will be able to judge how great is the richness of this kingdom, and how great the treasure that this king has amassed.

...a *pardo*...is a round gold coin, which coin is not struck anywhere in India except in this kingdom; it bears impressed on it on one side two images and on the other the name of the king who commanded it to be struck; those which this king ordered to be struck have only one image. This coin is current all over India. Each *pardo*,...is worth three hundred and sixty reis (rees).

(g) Goods purchased and sold by gold, Duarte Barbosa²⁸

All this merchandize is bought and sold by *pardaos*, (the gold coin, which they call *pardo* is worth three hundred *maravedis*) which are made in certain towns of this kingdom, and over the whole of India they make use of this coin, which is current in all these kingdoms. The gold is rather base. The coin is round in form and is made with a die. Some of them have on one side Indian letters and on the other two figures, of a man and a woman, and others have only letters on one side. "They are made especially in a town called Hora, from which they call them *horoas*; the value and fashion of which coins have been set forth above in many places. Those of this place are perfectly genuine, not one of them has been ever found false, nor is now so found, whereas many of other places are (false)."

6. Cities

(a) City of Vijayanagar

(b) Anegundi

(a) City of Vijayanagar

(i) A scenic setting, Ludovico Di Varthema²⁹

The said city of Bisinegar belongs to the King of Narsinga, and is very

large and strongly walled. It is situated on the side of a mountain, and is seven miles in circumference. It has a triple circle of walls. It is a place of great merchandise, is extremely fertile, and is endowed with all possible kinds of delicacies. It occupies the most beautiful site, and possesses the best air that was ever seen: with certain very beautiful places for hunting and the same for fowling, so that it appears to me to be a second paradise.

**(ii) Populous city, fair palaces, endless number of wealthy men,
Duarte Barbosa³⁰**

Forty leagues (of this country) further inland there is a very great city of Bisnagua, wherein dwell folk without number; it is fenced about with strong ramparts and by a river as well, on the further side of a great chain of mountains. It stands on a very level plain. Here always dwells the king of Narsyngua, who is a Heathen and is called Rayen [Raya or Raja], and here he has great and fair palaces, in which he always lodges, with many enclosed courts and great houses very well built, and within them are wide open spaces, with water-tanks in great number, in which is reared abundance of fish. He also has gardens full of trees and sweet-scented herbs. In the city as well there are palaces after the same fashion, wherein dwell the great Lords and Governours thereof.

The other houses of the people are thatched "but none the less are very well built and arranged according to occupations, in long streets with many open places." And the folks here are ever in such numbers that the streets and places cannot contain them. There is great traffic and an endless number of merchants and wealthy men, as well among the natives of the city who abide therein as among those who come thither from outside...

High level of religious tolerance

....the King allows such freedom that every man may come and go and live according to his own creed, without suffering any annoyance and without enquiry whether he is a Christian, 'Jew' Moor or Heathen. Great equity and justice is observed to all, not only by the rulers, but by the people one to another.

(iii) The city of Vijayanagar, Domingo Paes³¹

...the city of Bisnaga [Vijayanagar],...from it to the new city goes a street [this royal road connecting Hampi and Hospet is till in use] as wide as a place of tourney, with both sides lined throughout with rows of houses and shops where they sell everything; and all along this road are many trees that the king commanded to be planted, so as to afford shade to those that pass along. On the road he commanded to be erected a very beautiful temple [probably the 'Anantasayanagudi' temple which the king had built when he was blessed with a son] of stone, and there are other pagodas that the captains

and great lords caused to be erected.

...before you arrive to the city gates there is a gate with a wall that encloses all the other enclosures of the city, and this wall is a very strong one of massive stone-work; but at the present time it is injured in some places. They do not fail to have citadels in it. This wall has a moat of water in some place, and in the parts where it was constructed on low ground. And there is, separate from it, yet another (defence) made in the following manner. Certain pointed stones of great height are fixed in the ground as high as a man's breast; they are in breadth a lanceshaft and half, with the same distance between them and the great wall. This wall rises in all the low ground till it reaches some hill or rocky land. From this first circuit until you enter the city there is a great distance, in which are fields in which they sow rice and have many gardens and much water, which water comes from two lakes. The water passes through this first line of wall, and there is much water in the lakes because of springs; and here there are orchards and a little grove of palms, and many houses.

Returning, then, to the first gate of the city, before you arrive at it you pass a little piece of water and then you arrive at the wall, which is very strong, all of stone-work, and it makes a bend before you arrive at the gate; and at the entrance of this gate are two towers, one on each side, which makes it very strong. It is large and beautiful. As soon as you pass inside there are two little temples; one of them has an enclosing wall with many trees, while the whole of the other consists of buildings; and this wall of the first gate encircles the whole city. Then going forward you have another gate with another line of wall, and it also encircles the city inside the first, and from here to the king's palace is all streets and rows of houses, very beautiful, and houses of captains and other rich and honourable men; you will see rows of houses with many figures and decorations pleasing to look at. Going along the principal street, you have one of the chief gateways, which issues from a great open space in front of the king's palace; opposite this is another which passes along to the other side of the city; and across this open space pass all the carts and conveyances carrying stores and everything else, and because it is in the middle of the city it cannot but be useful.

This palace of the king is surrounded by a very strong wall like some of the others, and encloses a greater space (*terra moor cerca*) than all the castle of Lisbon.

Still going forward, passing to the other gate you see two temples connected with it, one on each side, and at the door of one of these they kill every day many sheep; for in all the city they do not kill any sheep for the use of the heathen, or for sale in the markets, except at the gate of this pagoda. Of their blood they make sacrifices to the idol that is in the temple. They leave the heads to him, and for each sheep they give a *saco (chakram)* which is a

coin like a *cartilha* (*quartilha*-a farthing). There is present at the slaughter of these beasts a *Jogi* (priest) who has charge of the temple, and as soon as they cut off the head of the sheep or goat this *Gogi* blows a horn as a sign that the idol receives that sacrifice...

Close to these pagodas is a triumphal car covered with carved work and images, and on one day in each year during a festival they drag this through the city in such streets as it can traverse. It is large and cannot turn corners.

Houses of merchants, a fair every evening

Going forward, you have a broad and beautiful street, full of rows of fine houses and streets of the sort I have described, and it is to be understood that the houses belong to men rich enough to afford such. In this street live many merchants, and there you will find all sorts of rubies and diamonds, and emeralds, and pearls and seed-pearls, and cloths, and every other sort of thing there is on earth and that you may wish to buy. Then you have there every evening a fair where they sell many common horses and nags (*rocis e semdeiros*), and also many citrons [from the family of lemon] and limes, and oranges, and grapes, and every other kind of garden stuff, and wood; you have all in this street.

Street of craftsmen, fair every Friday, a Moor quarter

At the end of it you have another gate with its wall, which wall goes to meet the wall of the second gate of which I have spoken, in such sort that this city has three fortresses, with another which is the king's palace. Then when this gate is passed you have another street where there are many craftsmen, and they sell many things; and in this street there are two small temples (pagodas). There are temples (pagodas) in every street, for these appertain to institutions like the confraternities you know of in our parts, of all the craftsmen and merchants; but the principal and greatest pagodas are outside the city. In this street lodged Christovao de Figueiredo. On every Friday you have a fair there, with many pigs and fowls and dried fish from the sea, and other things the produce of the country, of which I do not know the name; and in like manner a fair is held every day in different parts of the city. At the end of this street is the Moorish quarter, which is at the very end of the city, and of these Moors there are many who are natives of the country and who are paid by the king and belong to his guard. In this city you will find men belonging to every nation and people, because of the great trade which it has, and the many precious stones there, principally diamonds..

Appears as large as Rome

The size of this city I do not write here, because it cannot all be seen

from any one spot, but I climbed a hill [Matangaparvata or Matanga hill] whence I could see a great part of it; I could not see it all because it lies between several ranges of hills. What I saw from thence seemed to me as large as Rome, and very beautiful to the sight; there are many groves of trees within it in the gardens of the houses, and many conduits of water which flow into the midst of it, and in places there are lakes (*temques*); and the king has close to his palace a palm grove and other rich bearing fruit-trees. Below the Moorish quarter [from the Muslim cemeteries in the ruins of Hampi it seems that there were two Moorish quarters in the capital] is a little river, and on this side are many orchards and gardens with many fruits trees, for the most part mangoes and areca-palms and jack-trees, and also many lime and orange trees, growing so closely one to another that it appears like a thick forest; and there are also white grapes. All the water which is in the city comes from the two tanks of which I have spoken, outside the first enclosing wall.

Very populous city, best provided in the world

The people in this city are countless in number, so much so that I do not wish to write it down for fear it should be thought fabulous; but I declare that no troops, horse or foot, could break their way through any street or lane, so great are the numbers of the people and elephants.

This is the best provided city in the world and is stocked with provisions such as rice, wheat, grains, Indian-corn [millets like jowar]; and a certain amount of barley and beans, moong, pulses [probably masoor dal also known as Egyptian pulse], horse-gram, and many other seeds which grow in this country which are the food of the people, and there is large store of these and very cheap; but wheat is not so common as the other grains, since no one eats it except the Moors. But you will find what I have mentioned.

Streets and markets packed

The streets and markets are full of laden oxen without count, so that you cannot get along for them, and in many streets you come upon so many of them that you have to wait for them to pass, or less have to go by another way. There is much poultry; they give three fowls in the city for a coin worth a *vintem*, which coins are called *favaos* [Pana or fanam, favaos in Portuguese]; outside the city they give four fowls for a *vintem*...

Abundance of milk and butter

For the state of this city is not like that of other cities, which often fail of supplies and provisions, for in this one everything abounds; and also the quantity of butter and oil and milk sold every day, that is a thing I cannot refrain from mentioning; and as for the rearing of cows and buffaloes which

goes on in the city, there is so much that you will go very far before you find another like it. There are many pomegranates also; grapes are sold at three bunches a *fanam*, and pomegranates ten for a *fanam*.

(iv) A glimpse of the royal palace, Domingo Paes³²

The king, then being in his new city, as I have said, Christovao de Figueiredo begged him of his kindness that he would permit him to be shown the palace of the city of Bisnaga, forasmuch as there had come with him many Portuguese who had never been in Bisnaga, and they would rejoice to see it, in order to have somewhat to tell on their return to their own lands, whenever god should take them there. The king at once commanded that they should be shown certain of his residences, for that of his wives no one ever sees. As soon as we had returned to the city of Bisnaga, the governor of that place, who is called Gamdarajo [the '*Guandaja*' of Nuniz], and is brother of Salvatinica, showed us the palace.

Counted at the gate

You must know that on entering that gate of which I have spoken, by which the ladies serving the king's wives make their exit when they come to the feast, opposite to it there is another of the same kind. Here they bade us stand still, and they counted us how many we were, and as they counted they admitted us one by one to a small courtyard with a smoothly plastered floor, and with very white walls around it. At the end of this courtyard, opposite this gate by which we entered, is another close to it on the left hand, and another which was closed; the door opposite belongs to the king's residence. At the entrance of this door outside are two images painted like life and drawn in their manner, which are these; the one on the right hand is of the father of this king, and the one the left is of this king. The father was dark and a gentleman of fine form, stouter than the son is; they stand with all their apparel and such raiment as they wear or used to wear when alive. Afterwards, wishing to pass in at this door, they again counted us, and after they had finished counting us, we entered a little house which contained what I shall now relate.

Two chambers richly decorated

As soon as you are inside, on the left hand, are two chambers one above the other, which are in this manner: the lower one is below the level of the ground, with two little steps which are covered with copper gilded, and from there to the top is all lined with gold (I do not say 'gilded' but 'lined' inside), and outside it is dome-shaped. It has a four-sided porch made of cane-work over which is a work of rubies and diamonds and all other kinds of precious stones and pearls, and above the porch are two pendants of gold; all the precious

stone-work is in heart-shapes, and, interweaved between one and another, is a twist of thick seed-pearl work; on the dome [vault or arch] are pendants of the same. In this chamber was a bed which had feet similar to the porch, the cross-bars covered with gold, and there was on it a mattress of black satin; it had all round it a railing of pearls a span wide; on it were two cushions and no other covering. Of the chamber above it I shall not say if it held anything because I did not see it, but only the one below on the right side. In this house there is a room with pillars of carved stone [carved wood, according to Professor Rouch]; this room is all of ivory, as well the chamber as the walls, from top to bottom, and the pillars of the cross-timbers at the top had roses and flowers of lotuses all of ivory, and all well executed, so that there could not be better – it is so rich and beautiful that you would hardly find anywhere another such.

Painting depicts ways of life of all men including the Portuguese and even beggars

On this same side is designed in painting all the ways of life of the men who have been here even down to the Portuguese, from which the king's wives can understand the manner in which each one lives in his own country, even to the blind and the beggars. In this house are two thrones [chairs] covered with gold, and a cot of silver with its curtains. Here I saw a little slab of green jasper, which is held for a great thing in this house. Close to where this jasper is, i.e., underneath arches where is the entrance into the place, there is a little door closed with some padlocks; they told us that inside it there was a treasury of one of the former kings.

Courtyard with swings for royal ladies

As soon as we left this house we entered a courtyard as large as an arena for beast-fights, very well plastered and almost in the middle are some pillar of wood, with a cross beam at the top all covered with copper gilt, and in the middle four chains of silver links with hooks which are caught one into the other; this serves for a swing for the wives of the king. At the entrance of this courtyard on the right hand we mounted four or five steps and entered some beautiful houses – single-storeyed houses with flat roofs on top, although on top there may be other houses; the plan is good, and they are like terraces.

Vithala temple

There is a building there built on many pillars [possibly the Vithala temple], which are of stone-work, and so also is all the work of the roof, with all the rest of wood (*maneria*), and all the pillars with all the other work are gilded so that they seem as if covered with gold.

Then at the entrance of this building in the middle nave, there is, standing

on four pillars [possibly the stone *ratha* or chariot in the temple premises], a canopy covered with many figures of dancing-women, besides other small figures which are placed in the stone-work. All this is also gilded, and has some red colour on the under-sides of the leaves which stand out from sculpture. You must know that they make no use of this building because it belongs to their idol and to the temple. At the end of this is a little closed door where the idol is. Whenever they celebrate any festival of this idol, they carry it on a golden throne and put it underneath that canopy which is made for the purpose; and then come the Brahmans to perform their ceremonies there, and the dancing-girls come to dance.

A cot of gold bars, dancing room

Descending from this building, we passed on the left side of the courtyard, and we entered a corridor which runs the whole length of it, in which we saw some things. On entering the corridor was a cot suspended in the air by silver chains; the cot had feet made of bars of gold, so well made that they could not be better, and the cross-bars of the cot were covered with gold. In front of this cot was a chamber where was another cot suspended in the air by chains of gold; this cot had feet of gold with much setting of precious stones, and the cross bars were covered with gold.

A chamber under construction

Above this chamber was another, smaller, and with nothing in it save only that it was gilt and painted. Passing this chamber, along the same corridor in front was a chamber which this king commanded to be made; on the outside were figures of women with bows and arrows like amazons. They had begun to paint this chamber, and they told us that it had to be finer than the others, and that it was to be all plated with gold, as well the ground below as all the rest.

Temple kitchen with gold cauldrons

Passing this corridor and mounting up into another which is higher, we saw at one end three caldrons of gold [the temple kitchen], so large that in each one they could cook half a cow [cow slaughter was completely banned], and with them were others, very large ones, of silver, and also little pots of gold and some large ones.

Hall where women are taught to dance, pillars carved with animals

Thence we went up by a little staircase, and entered by a little door into a building which is in this manner. This hall is where the king sends his women to be taught to dance. It is a long hall and not very wide, all of stone sculpture

on pillars, which are at a distance of quite an arm's length from the wall; perhaps a little more. These pillars stand in that manner all round the building; they are half-pillars (?) made with other hollows (?) all gilt. In the supports or pedestals on the top are many great beasts like elephants, and of there shapes; it is open so that the interior is seen, and there are on the inner side of these beasts other images, each placed according to its character; there are also figures of men turned back to back [the mandapa in the SE corner of Vithala temple premises has pillars of this type], and other beasts of different sorts. In each case from pillar to pillar is a cross-bar [the architrave] which is like a panel, and from pillar to pillar are many such panels; there are images of old men, too, gilded and of the size of a cubit. Each of the panels has one placed in this way. These images are over all the building. And on the pillars are other images, smaller, with other images yet more subordinate, and other figures again, in such a way that I saw this work gradually diminishing in size on these pillars with their designs from pillar to pillar, and each time smaller by the size of a span as it went on, becoming lost; so it went dwindling gradually away till there remained of all the sculptured work only the dome, the most beautiful I ever saw. Between these images and pillars runs a design of foliage, like plates (*a maneyra de lamines*), all gilt, with the reverses of the leaves in red and blue, the images that are on the pillars are stags and other animals, they are painted in colours with the pink on their faces [flesh-tint]; but the other images seated on the elephants, as well as those on the panels, are all dancing women having little drums (tomtoms).

Each panel depicts a dance posture

The designs of these panels show the positions at the ends of dances in such a way that on each panel there is a dancer in the proper position at the end of the dance; this is to teach the women, so that if they forget the position in which they have to remain when the dance is done, they may look at one of the panels where is the end of that dance. By that they keep in mind what they have to do.

At the end of this house on the left hand is a painted recess where the women cling on with their hands in order better to stretch and loosen their bodies and legs; there they teach them to make the whole body supple, in order to make their dancing more graceful. At the other end, on the right, in the place where the king places himself to watch them dancing, all the floors and walls where he sits are covered with gold, and in the middle of the wall is a golden image of a woman of the size of a girl of twelve years, with her arms in the position which she occupies in the end of a dance.

More than a lakh houses in the city

Of the city of Bisnaga they say that there are more than a hundred thousand dwelling houses in it, all one storeyed and flat-roofed, to each of which there is a low surrounding wall, and in this city the king lives most of the time. On the north side are rocky hills; a river runs between them, and the wall runs along the top of them, and on the farther side is a city called Nagumdy; and it has only three gates namely one by the river, which they cross in boats embarking just at the gate [Talarighatta or Talavarakatta gate leading to Anegundi]; one on the other side which is to the north, this is a stronger gate; and one on the north-west side, a little gate between two very high ridges; and it is such a bad road that only horse-man can pass out a time.

City of Krishnapur, full of temples

And on the north-west side (of Bisnaga) is another city called Crisnapor (Krishnapura, where are the ruins of a fine Krsna temple) connected with Bisnaga, in which are all their pagodas, those in which they most worship, and all the revenue of this city is granted to them; and they say that they have a revenue of a hundred thousand *pardaos* of gold. The pagodas are high and have great buildings with many figures of men and women all in lascivious attitudes.

(b) Anegundi

A former capital, Domingo Paes³³

Now as to the places on the bank of this river[Tungabhadra]. There is a city built there which they call *Senagumdy (Anegundi)* and they say that of old it was the capital of the kingdom, but there now live in it few people; it still has good walls and is very strong, and it lies between two hill-ranges which have only two entrances. A captain lives in this city for the king. People cross to this place by boats which are round like baskets; inside they are made of cane, and outside are covered with leather; they are able to carry fifteen or twenty persons, and even horses and oxen can cross in them if necessary, but for the most part these animals swim across. Men row them with a sort of paddle, and the boats are always turning round, as they cannot go straight like others; in all the kingdom where there are streams there are no other boats but these.

There are also in this city places where they sell live sheep; you will see the fields round the city full of them, and also of cows and buffaloes – it is a very pretty sight to see – and also the many she-goats and kids, and the he-goats so large that they are bridled and saddled. Many sheep are like that also, and boys ride them.

Vithala temple at Anegundi

Outside the city walls on the north there are three very beautiful pagodas, one of which is called *Vitella*, and it stands over against this city of Nagumdy (Anegundi); the other is called Aoperadianar [probably Pampavirupaksa or Pampapatinatha], and this is the one which they hold in most veneration, and to which they make great pilgrimages.

Streets with shelters for pilgrims

In this pagoda, opposite to its principal gate which is to the east, there is a very beautiful street of very beautiful houses with balconies and arcades, in which are sheltered the pilgrims that come to it, and there are also houses for the lodging of the upper classes; the king has a palace in the same street, in which he resides when he visits this pagoda. There is a pomegranate tree above this first gate; the gate has a very lofty tower all covered with rows of men and women and hunting scenes and many other representations, and as the tower goes narrowing towards the top so the images diminish in size.

Passing this first gate, you come at once into a large courtyard with another gate [the 'rayagopura' built by King Krishnadeva Raya in A.D. 1509-10 to commemorate his accession] of the same sort as the first, except that it is rather smaller throughout; and passing this second gate, there is a large court with verandahs all round on pillars of stone, and in the middle of this court is the house of the idol.

A gilded column gifted by Krishnadeva Raya

Opposite the principal gate stand four columns, two gilded and the other two of copper, from which, owing to their great age as it seems to me, the gold has worn off; and the other two are also of copper, for all are of copper. That which stands nearest the gate of the temple was given by this King Crisnarao Krsnaraya who now reigns here, and the others by his predecessors. All the outer side of the gate of the temple up to the roof is covered with copper and gilded and on each side of the roof on the top are certain great animals that look like tigers, all gilt. As soon as you enter this idol-shrine, you perceive from pillar to pillar on which it is supported many little holes in which stand oil lamps, which burn, so they tell me, every night, and they will be in number two thousand five hundred and three thousand lights.

As soon as you pass this shrine you enter another small one like the crypt (*cinzeyro*) of some church; it has two doors at the sides, and thence onward this building is like a chapel, where stands the idol which they adore. Before you get to it there are three doors; the shrine is vaulted and dark without any light from the sky; it is always lit with candles. At the first gate are doorkeepers who never allow any one to enter except the Brahmans that have

charge of it... Between gate and gate are images of little idols.

The linga

The principal idol is a round stone without any shape [linga]; they have great devotion for it. This building outside is all covered with copper gilt. At the back of the temple outside, close to the verandahs of which I have spoken, there is a small idol of white alabaster with six arms in one it has a ...and in the other a sword, and in the others sacred emblems (*armas de casa*) and it has below its feet a buffalo and a large animal which is helping to kill that buffalo. In this pagoda there burns continually a lamp of ghee, and around are other small temples for houses of devotion.

Temple chariots

...Whenever the festival of any of these temples occurs they drag along certain triumphal cars which run on wheels, and with it go dancing-girls and other women with music to the temple (conducting) the idol along the said street with much pomp...

7. Political Developments in Vijayanagar

(a) Capture of Raichur from Bijapur, Fernao Nuniz³⁴

After Salvatinia had arrived and had been well received by the King, and after the lapse of some days, the King told him that he desired to fulfil all the wishes expressed in the testament of King Narsyanga, one of which was to capture Rachol [Raichur], which was a very strong city and amongst the principal ones of the Ydallcao [Adil Shah of Bijapur], who had taken it from the kings of his ancestors...

This city of Rachol lies between two great rivers, and in the midst of a great plain where there are no trees except very small ones, and there are great boulders there; from each river to the city is three leagues. One of these rivers is the northern boundary, and beyond it the country belongs to the Ydallcao, and the other is the boundary to the south which is the boundary of Narsymga. This plain lies in the middle of these two rivers, and there are large lakes therein and wells and some little streams where the city is situated, and a hill which looks like a woman's breast and is of natural formation. The city has three lines of strong walls of heavy masonry made without lime; the walls are packed with earth inside, and it has on the highest point a fortress like a tower, very high and strong; at the top where the fortress stands is a spring of water which runs all the year round. It is held to be a holy and mysterious thing that a spring which is in a lofty situation in some way never be without water. Besides this spring there are several tanks of water and wells, so that the citizens

had no fear of being ever taken for lack of water; and there were in the city supplies for five years. There were eight thousand men as garrison and four hundred horse and twenty elephants, and thirty catapults (*trabucos*) which hurled heavy stones and did great damage. The towers which are on the walls are so close together that one can hear words spoken from one to the other. Between these and all around they posted their artillery, which consisted of two hundred heavy pieces, not to mention small ones.

(b) Battle of Talikota, 1565, Cesare Federici³⁵

In the yeer of our Lord 1567 [in the original it is 1566], I went from Goa to Bezeneger, the chiefe Citie of the Kingdom of Narsinga eight dayes journey from Goa, within the Land, in the companie of two other Merchants which carried with them three hundred Arabian Horses to that King...

Sack of city

Bezeneger Idalcan, Xamalucco &c. A most unkind and wicked treason against their Prince; this they have for giving credite to strangers, rather than to their owne native people.

The citie of Bezeneger was sacked in the yeere 1565 by foure Kings of the Moores, which were of great power and might: the names of these foure Kings were these following: the first was called Dialcan [Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur], the second Zamaluc [Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golconda], the third Cotamaluc [Husain Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar] and the fourth Viridy.

Treason by two Muslim generals

And yet these foure Kings were not able to overcome this Citie and the King of Bezeneger, but by treason. This King of Bezeneger was a Gentile, and had, amongst all other of his Captaines, two which were notable, and they were Moores: and these two Captaines had either of them in charge threescore and ten or fourscore thousand men. These two Captaines being of one Religion with the foure Kings which were Moores, wrought means with them to betray their owne King into their hands. The King of Benzeneger esteemed not the force of the foure Kings his enemies, but went out of his Cities to wage battell with them in the fields; and when the Armies were joyned, the battell lasted but a while, not the space of four houres, because the two traitorous Captaines, in the chiefest of the fight, with their campanies turned their faces against their King, and made such disorder in his Armie, that as astonied they set themselves to flight. Thirty yeeres was this Kingdome governed by three brethren which were Tyrants, the which keeping the rightful King in prison, it was their use every yeere once to shew him to the people, and they at their pleasures ruled as they listed. These brethren were three Captaines belonging

to the father of the king they kept in prison, which when he died, left his sonne very young, and then they took the government to themselves. The chiefest of these three was called Ramaragio, and sate in the Royall Throne, and was called the King: the second was called Temiragio and he took the government on him: the third was called Bengatre [the three brothers were: Ramaraya, Timmaraya and Venkatadri], and he was Captaine generall of the Armie. These three brethren were in this battell, in which the chiefest and the last were never heard of quicke nor dead. Only Temiragio fled in the battell, having lost one of his eyes. When the newes came to the Citie of the overthrowe in the battell, the wives and children of these three Tyrants with their lawful King (kept prisoner) fled away, spoyled as they were, and the foure Kings of the Moores entered the Citie Bezeneger with great triumph, and there they remained sixe moneths, searching under houses and in all places for money and other things that were hidden, and then they departed to their owne Kingdomes, because they were not able to maintayne such a Kingdome as that was, so farre distant from their owne countrie.

When the kings were departed from Bezeneger, this Temiragio returned to the Citie, and then beganne for to repopulate it, and sent word to Goa to the Merchants, if they had any Horses, to bring them to him, and he would pay well for them, and for this cause the aforesaid two Merchants that I went in companie withall, carried those Horses that they had to Bezeneger. Also this Tyrant made an order or law, that if any Merchant had any of the Horses that were taken in the aforesaid battell or warres, although they were of his owne marke, that he would give as much for them as they would and beside he gave generally safe conduct to all that should bring them. When by this meanes hee saw that there were great store of Horses brought thither unto him, he gave the Merchants faire words, untill such time as he saw they could bring no more. Then hee licenced the Merchants to depart, without giving them any thing for their Horses, which when the poore men saw, they were desparate, and as it were mad with sorrow and grieve...

New capital at Penugonda

In the yeere of our Lord God 1567 [in the year 1567, he is mentioning what happened after the battle of Talikota and the sack of the city of Vijayanagar] for the ill successe that the people of Bezeneger had, in that their Citie was sacked by the foure Kings, the King with his Court went to dwell in a Castle eight dayes journey up in the land from Bezeneger, called Penegonde. Also sixe dayes journey from Bezeneger, is the place where they get Diamants: I was there but it was told me that it is a great place, compassed with a wall, and that they sell the earth within the wall, for so much a squadron, and the limits are set how deepe or how low they shall digge. Those Diamants that are of a ceraine size

and bigger then that size are all for the King, it is many yeeres agone, since they got any there, for the troubles that they have beene in that Kingdome.

(c) An anonymous account by a Jesuit on the state of the kingdom in 1583³⁶

This town (San Thome of Mylapore) is in the kingdom of Bisnaga, called otherwise Narsing, which some years back was one of the largest, most powerful and richest kingdoms of the whole East; because its sovereign ruled over numberless people and could raise an army either of one million or one million and a half soldiers, so much so that all the kings and princes who were his neighbours were also subjected to him; he enjoyed a very large revenue and there was in his army a great deal of elephantry and cavalry since he was the owner of more than three thousand elephants and thirty or forty thousand of the best horses ever seen in this country, because they come from both Arabia and Persia. But eighteen years ago his power was decaying on account of different circumstances: because kingly offspring being wanted, a succession war burst out and many principal chiefs arose in arms against that who ruled at this time and, in the course of the war, plundered and destroyed the city of Bisnaga, which was the royal city, and capital of the whole of the kingdom, so populous, rich and well-fitted that there were within its enclosure about a thousand temples, they say. The ruins that remain still show evidently that it was one of the wonders of the East. But in spite of that the Sovereign of this kingdom was not so shaken that he lost all his power and wealth, because he owns a large state and good many elephants and cavalry and a numerous army.

(d) Destroyed city larger than Cairo, letter sent to Florence on January 22 1586, by Filippo Sassetti³⁷

Add to this the destruction of the city of Bisnagar, residence of the king of all this part of India, who is called king of Narsinga in the geographical maps; a name which cannot be traced here; (a city) larger than Cairo, according to the Moors who had seen both of them. It had so much traffic you couldn't even imagine; being astonishingly large, inhabited by rich people, not like we, whose riches can be enclosed in a small case, but as people like Crassus and others used to be in those times: it absorbed and coped with the large quantities of merchandise which came our places via Alexandria and Syria, and the many cloths and drapes which were produced in so great quantities were sold here. And the traffic was so big that the road from this country to that one was so crowded as the streets in a fair; and the profit of this business was so sure, that it sufficed to carry the goods there: no matter what the merchants brought, within the fifteen days the trip on land took they earned 25 or 30 per cent on both sides, since they carried

other goods from there on the return journey; and which goods! Diamonds, rubies and pearls, on which they made a large profit.

B. THE ZAMORIN OF CALICUT

1. "The greatest and most puissant king," Francois Pyrard³⁸

He is *Samory* [*Samudragiri raja*, or *Samudri*, which is Samorin or Zamorin in European accounts] by all the Indians, a word of great weight in their language, and equivalent to Emperor, for he is one of the greatest and richest princes of India. He can put under arms 150,000 Nairs, without counting the Malabars and Mahometans of his own kingdom, and the innumerable pirates and corsairs of the coast, whose services he can command.

All the Nair kings of this coast are his vassals, obeying him and yielding to his majesty, except the king of Cochin, with whom, although a prince of the same faith, manners, and customs, he is almost always at war: that, however, is only since the Portuguese have been at Cochin, for it is they who foster and maintain this hostility. In former days the king of Cochin recognized him as others do...

This prince, when I was there, was about fifty years of age, and had reigned about thirty-five. He is handsome, tall, and erect: nimble, slim and well proportioned in limb. He loves his people, and is beloved and obeyed by them, feared and dreaded by his neighbours and enemies. He has but one wife, like the other *Brameny Nairs*, and at this time had no children. He resides, as I have said, sometimes at *Panany*, sometimes at *Calecut*; but often makes a tour of his kingdom. When he travels he does so with a very great company, having always about 3,000 men in his following. He rides upon an elephant, of which animals he hath a great number. Wherever he passes all assemble in arms to accompany him, insomuch that sometimes he hath more than 10,000 persons. His principle seat is at *Calecut*, where he hath a very handsome and well-built palace, all enclosed with good walls and moats, with drawbridge to the gates, and water all around the moats. A large number of soldiers day and night guard the gates, which are four in number.

2. Palace and secretariat of the Zamorin, Francois Pyrard³⁹

[The palace] is a very large enclosure, and contains many blocks of houses, all detached and well built, of many stories and galleries, with flower-beds, and orchards, tanks, fish-ponds, and canals, all fitted and paved with stone, and constructed on all sides of stone steps, leading to the bottom. Add to these many springs and fountains, whose water is cold and excellent to drink. In the palace, too, is a magazine or arsenal, full of arms, canon, powder,

and munitions of war. But the great and chief arsenal of the king is at *Panany*, for that is his chief town.

Hard by there is a block of buildings allotted to the secretary and clerk of the king, for keeping all the registers. The order and system is most admirable herein, and I have oftentimes wondered to see the great number of men with no other duty or work all day but writing and registering. These posts are of much honour; the clerks all reside in the palace, but in different apartments, and they have different duties. Some make entry of all goods arriving for the king; others, the dues and taxes paid day by day; others, the expenditure of the king's household; others, the most notable incidents of each day, both what happened at court and in the rest of the kingdom; in short, all news, for he had everything registered; and each clerk has his separate room. They also keep a register of all strangers who come there, taking their names and nationalities, the time of their arrival, and the business that has brought them, and so they did with us. It is a wondrous thing to observe their number and the perfect order that exists among them, and how fast they write on their palm-leaves...

The king hath the like writers in all towns, ports, harbours, and frontier passages of his kingdom, who render account to those of the palace, all being well organized and in obedience one to another, each having his proper superior. Throughout the whole of Malabar coast, there is the same manner of writing and the same ordering thereof.

3. Daily routine of the Zamorin, Francois Pyrard⁴⁰

When the king rises in the morning, as soon as he sees the sun he prostrates himself before it with a fixed regard, as also do all the Nairs, and addresses his prayers to it, holding his hands over his head and opening and shutting them three times. After that he straightway rubs his body all over with odoriferous oil; this lasts about an hour, and than he goes to bathe in one of the ponds within the palace close....This done, his valet takes some colours and powdered wood, with other odorous drugs mixed with scented water, and applies the same to his forehead and to his body above the waist, together with some leaves and flowers of different sorts, which they paste on wherever they have put these scented stuffs, and particularly on the forehead and breast...

4. Diet of the Zamorin, Francois Pyrard⁴¹

When he comes forth of his bath he most often goes to the temple, and thence to his food in another palace within the same enclosure, which is a part of the grand palace, devoted entirely to that purpose. While he takes his repast he sits upon a piece of well-polished wood, and eats off balsam leaves, like the other Bramenis. He never eats either flesh, fish, or anything that has had

life, for he is of the Brameny caste, and wears the cord like the rest. He eats nothing but rice, cooked with milk, butter, and sugar, and divers kinds of other fruits, such as water-melons, etc. What remains of his meal is cast to the crows and other birds...

This prince is magnificently served by his officers, of whom he has a vast number. He takes his food at noon, and eats but once a day...

C. SHIVAJI

1. The eruption of Shivaji, Jean de Thevenot⁴²

In January 1664. *Raja Sivagy* put the Customers and their Gouvernour to such a strange plunge [predicament]; and seeing he is become famous by his actions, it will not be amiss, I think, to give a short History of him. This *Sivagy* is the Son of a Captain of the King of *Visiapours* [Bijapur], and born at *Bassaim* [he was born at Shivner, near Junnar] being of a restless and turbulent Spirit, he rebelled in his Father's life-time, and putting himself at the Head of several *Banditti*, and a great many debauched Young-Men, he made his part good in the Mountains of *Visiapour* against those that came to attack him, and could not be reduced. The King thinking that his Father kept intelligence with him, caused him to be arrested; and he dying in Prison [he died from injuries suffered from a fall several years later], *Sivagy* conceived so great a hatred against the King, that he used all endeavours to be revenged on him. In a very short time he plundered part of *Visiapour*, and with the Booty he took made himself so strong in Men, Arms and Horses, that he found himself able enough to seize some Towns, and to form a little State in spight of the King, who died at that time. The Queen, who was Regent having other Affairs in hand, did all she could to reduce *Sivagy* to duty; but her endeavours being unsuccessful, she accepted of the Peace he proposed to her, after which she lived in quiet.

2 (a) Mughal embassy at Bijapur, proposes alliance against Shivaji, Abbe Carre⁴³

The court and the affairs of the Bijapur kingdom were, at this time, in a flourishing state. An ambassador from the Great Mughal had just arrived...After some days of rejoicings and fetes, the ambassador was conducted to the Hall of Audience, where the young King of Bijapur was already seated on his throne...He then told them that the Great Mughal, his master and the sovereign of all India, had sent him to convey his felicitations on the fine and illustrious government of this state, and as their kingdom was so powerful and rich, to ask for their cooperation, so as to increase their glory, which should always be the principal aim of the princes and nobles. It was

fortunate that they could now justly undertake an unavoidable war at a time when there were no internal troubles. It was shameful to see the daily successes of Prince Shivaji, who, from being a simple minister of state in this same kingdom of Bijapur [Shivaji was never minister in Bijapur, his father entered service in the state in 1636], had risen today to such high fortune and grandeur that all the other Indian powers trembled before him. He had become master of the best part of this kingdom, namely its coasts and maritime frontiers. He had pillaged and sacked the richest towns of his king, the Mughal; he had taken the strongest places of the country; and no rivers, mountains, or forts, had yet been able to stem the progress of his enterprises and plans. Finally, if these ravages and continual successes were not opposed, he would become the most powerful king in the Orient. It was necessary, therefore, for them to provide the force of 14,000 horse and 10,000 foot, demanded by his master, the Great Mughal, in order to make a determined attack on the coastal towns and other places usurped by him, while the army of the Mughal would march against Shivaji from another side. To finance this war, they could use the amount of the annual tribute, a considerable sum which they were obliged to pay the Mughal.

After the audience Khawass Khan summoned the princes and nobles several times to discuss this demand. They held many councils, and found the ambassador's proposals to their advantage. They decided on war and appointed many generals and officers, who were at once sent on every side to raise levies of soldiers as soon as possible, so that in next to no time the town of Bijapur was in a tremendous uproar. The place was not large enough to train the cavalry which arrived from all parts. One heard nothing in the streets but the noise of drums and trumpets, and the shouts of these martial heroes. Each vizir and general armed his elephants in such a way as to make an appalling noise. They had war-machines on their backs with chains and other iron instruments, which are used in battle by these formidable animals at the will of those who ride them. The rich trapping of gold, silver, and precious stones, displayed on harness, arms and other equipment, seemed more in keeping with some great fete, tournament, or public procession than with a war.

Prince Shivaji did not lack information from his secret intelligence, which he had all over India. He made little of all these preparations and plans against him, and like a second Alexander, told his soldiers that the more his enemies had of luxury, splendid appointments, and gorgeous trappings, the less mettle and courage they would have; and that he preferred to see his men covered with iron and steel, which are the true ornaments of every soldier. Moreover, he had so many ruses and tricks that his enemies had great difficulty in avoiding them. His plans were never known and, when he was thought to be in one place with all his forces, he surprised everyone by a venture quite the opposite

to the one expected. He had for some months been at the gates of Surat, whence most people had fled. It was considered certain that from there he would make for Ahmadabad, one of the richest and most powerful Mughal towns; and at a time when the assurance of his march thither was causing great alarm in those places, everyone was amazed to hear he was at the gates of Golconda [1672], where he summoned the king to send him two millions of pagodas, or else to come out and fight in order to prevent his victorious entry into the capital and its delivery to his army for pillage. The King of Golconda was so terror-struck that he at once sent the sum of money demanded. He was in no state even to defend his royal town, where only merchants and court gallants were available, all his forces being engaged in the siege of St. Thome against the French. The latter fact was well known all over the East, and gave Prince Shivaji the opportunity of making this *coup d'état*. He was advised to take this course on account of the help it would give the French, with whom he was very friendly, for by reducing the finances of the king he would deprive him of the principal means of continuing his war against them.

After this exploit Shivaji, despising all the expeditions and armies that were being prepared against him, withdrew to his own country, and, as a diversion, visited all his places and fortresses where provisions and munitions of war were kept. Most of them were so strong, steep and inaccessible that only a faithful governor and a small garrison were needed to defend them against the most powerful Eastern forces. Shivaji thought so little of the Bijapur state's warlike preparations against him that he left at once with a flying camp and conquered some frontier posts of that kingdom, which are so near Goa that only a river separates them [raid on Kanara 1673]. The Portuguese are very uneasy at finding themselves neighbours of this powerful and redoubtable prince, who presses them so closely on every side that they can hardly leave their towns without entering his territories; and Shivaji thus threatens to complete their abasement.

(b) Afzal Khan kills his wives, Abbe Carre⁴⁴

We arrived at Abdelpour [Afzalpur] a little before nightfall after a whole day's march. It is a delightful town, situated in a fertile lowland with large meadows watered by a stream, which flows through the sluice of a large reservoir above the town: its water is confined by a curved embankment faced with stone, a work which well shows the power and magnificence of its builder, the nobleman of the place [Afzal Khan]. He was one of the greatest warriors and best generals in the kingdom of Bijapur in the reign of its rightful king, who was poisoned by his unfaithful wife [in the reign of Muhammad Adil Shah, 1626-56]. This governor was indeed a powerful and courageous vizir, who had done many splendid things for the good of the kingdom. Later on he

retired to this town of Afzalpur, which had been granted to him, and lived here in great state and comfort in a magnificent castle. He was at ease here when the last Bijapur king sent an army against Prince Shivaji under Rustam Zaman, governor of Onquery [Hukeri]. He was summoned to the court and made a general of 15,000 horse, which were again sent to fight Shivaji. He resolutely promised the king to conquer the enemy or die in the attempt. But before leaving he committed an act, which was the most cruel and detestable it is possible to imagine. This man, like all those orientals whose chief pleasure in the world is to pass their lives among flocks of women, and being one of the most powerful nobles in the kingdom, had a fine seraglio of 200 women, to whom he was so passionately attached that he could not bring himself to leave them. Inspired by a mad jealousy, he resolved that no one else should see or enjoy the treasures he guarded so dearly, in the event of his death in battle. Therefore, when the time for his departure came, he left the court and went to Afzalpur to settle his household affairs. He stayed there three days, shut up in his seraglio, to feast and disport himself for the last time with his wives. He then actually had them all murdered and thrown into a fire, which he had prepared for this purpose in the middle of his palace. After this noble exploit, which was the last of his life, he left without any remorse, breathing fire and slaughter against the enemy. They soon made him rue this infamous cruelty towards a sex from whom he had always received favours, submission, and a blind obedience to his will.

(c) Shivaji kills Afzal Khan, Abbe Carre⁴⁵

Prince Shivaji, who had received warning of his march, went to meet him and placed all his forces in a favourable position to await attack. Both armies were in sight of one another; and the two generals, the most valiant warriors in the East, did wonders in moving their squadrons so as to seize hills and other points of vantage. The whole country swarmed with cavalry, elephants, camels carrying thousands of standards, to which each company could rally. Shivaji, on his side, encouraged his men by voice and action, showing himself in every part of his camp. In passing down their ranks, he urged them to remember that they were soldiers, brothers in arms, and companions in fortune, of the great Shivaji; that they must never fear enemies whom they had beaten so often, and who were more ready to retreat in an emergency than to attack and give a good account of themselves. He added that, if the enemy's general was once the bravest man in the kingdom and had won great victories, it was at a time when he cared only for the art of war; now he had embraced another sort of life amid the pleasures and delights of the world, so that he had lost all his former redoubtable qualities, and become cowardly and effeminate. Shivaji's soldiers were roused by his speech,

and the camp rang on all sides with shouts and acclamations, which struck terror and panic into the hearts of the most courageous of their opponents. The latter knew that they had to do with an army which had made every oriental power tremble by reason of its ever increasing victories and conquests. They shivered at the mere sight of these terrible people, against whom they fought more unwillingly than they would have done against another less redoubtable army.

Both sides were awaiting the signal to attack, when two heralds were seen issuing from Shivaji's camp. They asked the general to come for a quarter of an hour's interview with that prince, who wished to communicate something of importance before the battle commenced. The general agreed to this, and it was arranged that they should both meet, unarmed, between the two armies with an escort of only two soldiers, who were to stand a little aside, so as not to hear the conversation. Shivaji spoke first and said to the other that he was well aware of his valour, his merits, and the glory he had acquired in his warlike career; also he had not forgotten the many courageous actions that had won him such a splendid reputation in his kingdom. Therefore he had been compelled to bring all his forces against him, in order to have the glory of vanquishing such a fine army as his, as he had no doubt of doing. But the real reason for which he had requested the interview before the battle was to demand the dismissal of a man in that army who did not merit the glory and honour of a soldier's death. The general, astonished at Shivaji's speech, asked who was the man that he wished to exclude from the glory of battle. "It is yourself, sir," he replied, "you, who have lost all your former glory and the reputation you had acquired by your arms through your last action in massacring and burning two hundred poor women in such a brutal, inhuman and cowardly manner. You do not deserve to be conquered by force of arms, but rather to be chastised and punished in a manner worthy of your infamous action." He then drew a poisoned knife, which he had hidden in the folds of his belt, and plunging it three times into his body, stretched him dead at his feet.

Shivaji's generals, who had been given this coup for a cue, then charged the enemy so promptly that the first squadrons were cut in pieces, and the rest, being panic stricken, surrendered to their conqueror. The general's son and six of his principal officers were taken prisoner and brought to the king. They begged for quarter for the rest of their troops, who were being massacred without mercy. Shivaji then stopped the carnage and, having surrounded the rest of the enemy, promised them quarter and good rewards, if they would enter his service and swear an oath of fidelity. They were all delighted, and with one voice declared that they would be glad to fight, and pass the rest of their lives, under the standard of the greatest captain in all the East. He accordingly reinstated all the captains and officers in their appointments, and

returned victorious from a battle in which he had lost but few of his own men. Before leaving the field, he ordered some camp-followers of the enemy to take the body of their general, which he made them honourably place in one of his palanquins, after covering it with black [Afzal Khan's decapitated head was taken to Shivaji's fort at Pratapgarh and buried there]. He sent it to the nearest town, to which some companies of cavalry had fled. They joined the cortege and escorted it to Afzalpur, where a magnificent tomb was erected for him on the very spot where his unfortunate wives had been buried.

3. Attack on Shaista Khan's camp, Jean de Thevenot⁴⁶

In the mean while, the Raja, who could not rest, plundered some places belonging to the *Great Mogul*; which obliged that Emperour to send Forces against him, under the conduct of *Chasta-Can* [Shaista Khan] his Uncle, Governour of *Aurangeabad*. *Chasta-Can* having far more Forces than *Sivagy* had, vigorously pursued him, but the *Raja* having his retreat always in the Mountains, and being extreamly cunning the *Mogul* could make nothing of him.

However that old Captain at length, thinking that the turbulent Spirit of *Sivagy* might make him make some false step, judged it best to temporize, and lay a long while upon the Lands of the *Raja*. This Patience of *Chasta-Can* being very troublesome to *Sivagy*, he had his recourse to a Stratagem. He ordered one of his Captains to write to that *Mogul*, and to perswade him that he would come over to the service of the *Great Mogul*, and bring with him five hundred Men whom he had under his Command. *Chasta-Can* having recei'd the Letters, durst not trust them at first; but receiving continually more and more, and the Captain giving him such reasons for his discontent as looked very probable, he sent him word that he might come and bring his Men with him. No sooner was he come into the Camp of the *Moguls*, but he desired a Passport to go to the King that he might put himself into his Service: But *Chasta-Can* thought it enough to put him in hopes of it, and kept him with him.

Sivagy had ordered him to do what he could what he could to insinuate himself into the favour of *Chasta-Can*, and to spare no means that could bring that about, to shew upon all occasions the greatest rancour and animosity imaginable; and in a particular manner to be the first in Action against him or his Subjects. He fail'd not to obey him: He put all to Fire and Sword in the *Raja's* Lands, and did much more mischief than all the rest besides; which gained him full credit in the Mind of *Chasta-Can*, who at length made him Captain of his Guards. But he guarded him very ill, for having one Day sent word to *Sivagy*, that on a certain Night he should be upon Guard at the General's Tent; the *Raja* came there with his Men, and being introduced by his Captain,

came to *Chasta-Can*, who awakening flew to his Arms, and was wounded in the Hand; however he made a shift to escape, but a Son of his was killed, and *Sivagy* thinking that he had killed the General himself, gave the signal to retreat: He marched off with his Captain and all his Horse in good order.

Shaista Khan's captive daughter honourably treated

He carried off the General's Treasure, and took his Daughter, to whom he rendered all the Honour he could. He commanded his Men under rigorous pains, not to do her the least hurt, but on the contrary, to serve her with all respect; and being informed that her Father was alive, he sent him word, That if he would send the Summ which he demanded for her Ransoom, he would send him back his Daughter safe and sound; which was punctually performed.

Shaista Khan writes to Aurangzeb

He [Shaista Khan] informed the King, that it was impossible to force *Sivagy* in the Mountains; that he could not undertake it, unless he resolved to ruine his Troops; and he received Orders from Court to draw off under pretext of a new Enterprize.

Attack on Surat

Sivagy, in the mean time, was resolved to be revenged on the *Mogul* by any means whatsoever, provided it might be to his advantage, and knowing very well that the Town of *Surrat* was full of Riches, he took measures how he might plunder it: But that no body might suspect his Design, he divided the Forces he had into two Camps; and seeing his Territories lie chiefly in the Mountains, upon the Road betwixt *Bassaim* and *Chaoul*, he pitched one Camp towards *Chaoul*, where he planted one of his Pavillions, and posted another at the same time towards *Bassaim*; and having ordered his Commanders not to plunder, but on the contrary, to pay for all they had, he secretly disguised himself in the habit of a *Faquir*. Thus he went to discover the most commodious ways that might lead him speedily to *Surrat*: He entered the Town to examine the places of it, and by that means had as much time as he pleased to view it all over.

Being come back to his Chief Camp, he ordered four thousand of his Men to follow him without noise, and the rest to remain encamped, and to make during his absence as much noise as if all were there, to the end none might suspect the enterprise he was about, but think he was still in one of his Camps. Every thing was put in execution according to his orders...*Sivagy*'s Men entered the Town and plundered it for a space of four days burning down several Houses....it is believed at *Surrat* that this Raja Carried away in Jewels,

Gold and Silver, to the value of above thirty French Millions...The *Great Mogul* was sensibly affected with the Pillage of that Town, and the boldness of *Sivagy*...when he Plundered *Surrat* in the Year One thousand six hundred and sixty four, he was but thirty-five years of Age.

4. Arrival of Shivaji at camp of Raja Jai Singh, visit to Delhi, escape from Mughal capital, Niccolao Manucci⁴⁷

A few days after my arrival Shiva Ji gave himself up and came into our camp...This was the opening which afforded me occasion many times to converse with Shiva Ji, since I possessed, like any one in the camp, the Persian and Hindustani languages....

Rajah Jai Singh...made arrangements to send Shiva Ji to court well guarded; and he wrote to his heir, Ram Singh, to take precautions against the king's murdering Shiva Ji. For he had pledged his word, confirmed by oath, to protect him. Better would it be for his house to be extirpated than to permit Aurangzeb, under cover of his words, to organize treachery.

Shivaji storms out of Aurangzeb's court

Upon Shiva Ji's arrival at Dihli the king caused him to appear in his presence, and instead of giving him the promised position, which was to be the highest in his audience-hall, he caused him to be assigned the lowest place in the first circle of nobles within the golden railing. Shiva Ji was much hurt at this deed of Aurangzeb's, which did not conform to the promises received...Let Aurangzeb remember [said Shivaji] that the officers in His Majesty's presence, with the exception of Namdar Khan, who was a good officer, were the rest of them so many old women, whom he had overcome in the field with the greatest ease. Thus not one of them deserved the position he held. Then in anger he came out...

Ram Singh takes precautions

Ram Singh, fully carrying out his father's instructions, and sufficiently acquainted with Aurangzeb's character, had spent money without stint to obtain reports of any orders issued by the king, either in favour or against Shiva Ji. He thus heard of the royal order [to kill Shivaji]. Without any delay Shiva Ji was informed, and he sent out the large covered baskets of sweetmeats as usual. Then, concealing himself in one, he arranged to be carried away, he and his son, to a place of security...Thus it was carried out. At seven O'clock in the evening, having succeeded in getting away without anyone suspecting, Shiva Ji made use of the preparations made in the villages and woods, as arranged by Ram Singh, and escaped without detention into his own country...

Aurangzeb was much put out by this event, and raising his hand to his

head as if plunged in thought, he sent out orders throughout the realm for Shiva Ji to be traced. But Shiva Ji was already far on his road, traversing in one night what would take anyone else three days and three nights. In this way it was impossible to catch him, his way being through jungle and mountains, places through which it is very difficult to pass.

5. Party arrives at Raigarh, John Fryer⁴⁸

They [the English team]...were glad when they beard the *Rajah* [Shivaji] was returned from *Purtaabgur*; when the Ambassador solicited *Narun Gi Pundit* [a Saraswat Brahmin in Shivaji's service who also functioned as interpreter] to procure his leave to pass up the Hill into *Rairee* [the famous Raigarh fort] Castle. The next day they receive'd order to ascend the Hill into the Castle, the *Rajah* having appointed an House for them; which they did; leaving *Punckarra* about Three in the Afternoon, they arrived at the top of that strong Mountain, forsaking the humble Clouds about Sun-set.

The fort at Raigarh

It is fortified by Nature more than Art, being of very difficult access, there being but one Avenue to it, which is guarded by two narrow Gates, and fortified by a strong Wall exceeding high, and Bastions thereto: All the other part of the Mountain is a direct Precipice so that it's impregnable, except the Treachery of some in it betray it. On the Mountain are many strong Buildings, as the *Raja's* Court, and Houses of other Ministers, to the number of about 300. It is in length about two Miles and an half, but no pleasant Trees, or any sort of Grain grows thereon. Their House was about a Mile from the *Rajah's* Palace, into which they retired with no little content.

Audience with Shivaji

Four days after their ascent, by the sollicitation of *Narun Gi Pundit*, the *Rajah* gave them Audience, though in busily employed by many other great Affairs, relating to his Coronation and Marriage. Our Ambassador presented him, and his Son *Samba Gi Rajah*, with the Particulars appointed for them; which they took well satisfied with them; and the *Rajah* assured them we might trade securely in all his Countries without the least apprehension of ill from him, for that the Peace was concluded. Our Ambassador replied, that was our Intent; and to that intent the President had sent him to this Court to procure the same Articles and Privileges we enjoyed in *Indostan* and *Persia*, where we traded. He answered, it is well, and referred our Business to *Moro Pundit*, his *Peshua*, or Chancellour, to examine our Articles, and give an account what they were.

He and his Son withdrew into their private Apartments, to consult with the *Brachmines* about the Ceremonies preparatory to his Enstalment; which

chiefly consisted in Abstinence and Purifying; till which be over, he will hear no farther of Business. They likewise departed to their Lodgings.

Problem with gifts

A day or two after our Ambassador went to *Narun Gi Pundit*, and took his Advice concerning the presenting of the rest; who told him he might go in Person to *Moro Pundit*, but to the rest he should send by *Naran Sinaij* what was intended for them: Declaring likewise if he would have his Work speedily effected, and without any impediment, that it was necessary to be at some more charge to present Officers with *Pamerins*, who were not in their List of Presents; to which he assented, considering the time of the Year was so far spent, and that if he should be forced to stay the whole Rains out at *Rairee*, the Honourable Company's Charges would be greater than the Additional Presents: He answered that two *Pamerins* were not enough for *Moro Pundit*, that we must present him with four; and *Peta Gi Pundit Vocanovice*, or Publick Intelligencer, with the Diamond Ring, valued at 125 Rupees...

Shivaji weighed in gold

About this time the *Rajah*, according to the Hindus Custom, was weighed in Gold, and poised about 16000 Pagods, which Money, together with an 100000 more is to be distributed among the *Brachmines* after the day he is enthroned, who in great numbers flock hither from all parts of his Territories.

Negotiations with Shivaji

Being earnest to press on his Errand he came for, the Ambassador sent to *Narun Gi Pundit* to know what was transacted in the Articles; but was returned for Answer. The *Rajah* stopt his Ears to all Affairs, declaring he had granted all the Demands, except those two Articles, expressing, Our Money shall go current in his Dominions, and his on *Bombaim*; and that he shall restore whatever Wrecks may happen on his Coasts belonging to the *English*, and Inhabitants of *Bombaim*. The first he accounted unnecessary to be inserted, because he forbids not the passing of any manner of Coins; nor on the other side, can he force his Subjects to take those Monies, whereby they shall be Losers; but if our Coin be as fine an Allay, and as weighty as the *Moguls*, and other Princes, he will not prohibit it. To the other he says, that it is against the Laws of *Conchon* to restore any Ships, Vessels, or Goods, that are driven ashore by Tempest, or otherwise; and that should he grant us that Privilege, the *French*, *Dutch*, and other Merchants, would claim the same Right; which he could not grant without breaking a Custom has lasted many Ages: The rest of our Desires he willingly conceded embracing with much satisfaction our Friendship, promising to himself and Country much Happiness by our Settlement and Trade: Notwithstanding

Narun Gi Pundit did not altogether despair of obtaining our Wrecks, because we enjoyed the same Privilege in the *Mogul*, and *Duccan* Country.

Coronation of Shivaji

Near a Month after they had been here, *Narun Gi Pundit* sent word, That to Morrow about Seven or Eight in the Morning, the *Rajah Seva Gi* intended to ascend his Throne; and he would take it kindly if they came to congratulate him thereon; that it was necessary to present him with some small thing, it not being the Custom of the *Eastern* Parts to appear before a Prince empty-handed. The Ambassador sent him word, according to his Advice; he would wait on the *Rajah* at the prescribed time.

Accordingly next Morning he and his Retinue went to Court, and found the *Rajah* seated on a Magnificent Throne, and all his Nobles waiting on him in Rich Attire; his Son *Samba Gi Rajah*, *Peshuah Mora Pundit*, and a *Brachmine* of Great Eminence, seated on an Ascent under the Throne; the rest, as well Officers of the Army as others, standing with great Respect. The *English* made their Obeisance at a distance; and *Narun Sinai* held up the Diamond Ring that was to be presented him: He presently took notice of it, and ordered their coming nearer, even to the Foot of the Throne, where being Vested, they were desired to retire; which they did not so soon, but they took notice on each side of the Throne there hung (according to the *Moors* manner) on heads of Gilded Launces many Emblems of Dominion and Government; as on the Right-hand were two great Fishes Heads of Gold, with very large Teeth; on the Left, several Horses Tails, a Pair of Gold Scales on a very high Launce's head, equally poized, an Emblem of Justice and as they returned, at the Palace Gate stood two small Elephants on each side, and two fair Horses with Gold Trappings, Bridles, and Rich Furniture, which made them admire how they brought them up the Hill, the Passage being both difficult and hazardous.

Two days after this, the *Rajah* was married to a Fourth Wife, without State; and doth every day bestow Alms on the *Brachmines*...

Diet at Raigarh

I will only add one Passage during the Stay of our Ambassador at *Rairee*: The Diet of this sort of People admits not of great Variety or Cost, their delightfulest Food being only *Cutchery*, a sort of Pulse and Rice mixed together, and boiled in Butter, with which they grow Fat: but such Victuals could not be long pleasing to our Merchants, who had been used to Feed on good Flesh: It was therefore signified to the *Rajah*, That Meat should be provided for them; and to that end a Butcher that served those few *Moors* that were there, that were able to go to the Charge of Meat, was ordered to supply them with what

Goat they should expend (nothing else here being to be gotten for them), which he did accordingly, to the consumption of half a Goat a Day, which he found very profitable for him... The honest Butcher had made an Adventure up the Hill, though very old, to have the sight of his good Masters, who had taken off of his hands more Flesh in that time they had been there than he had sold in some Years before; so rare a thing is it to eat Flesh among them...

6. (a) Sambha Ji wears out Mughal commanders, Aurangzeb plans his capture, Niccolao Manucci⁴⁹

In spite of all his huge army, Aurangzeb found that he could not by force of arms accomplish his purpose; for Sambha Ji continuously evaded giving battle in the field, and was satisfied with plundering everywhere, never remaining many days in the same place. Relying on the activity of his horses, already trained to go long distances and eat little, he wore out and incommodeed the Mogul commanders and soldiers. Aurangzeb became aware that he would never succeed in this campaign, except by his usual intrigues. He therefore set to work, and wrote letters to Cabcales (Kab Kalish), the chief minister of Sambha Ji, and by large bribes and presents so far succeeded, that this minister undertook to make over Sambha Ji to him alive...

(b) Sambha Ji captured by treachery, subjected to cruel death, Niccolao Manucci⁵⁰

He [Kab Kalish] told Sambha Ji that two leagues away there was a village where abode a lovely married woman. This was enough. Sambha Ji resolved to halt at this place, in order to secure his impure desires. As soon as Kab Kalish knew his master's resolve, he warned Aurangzeb to send at once five thousand horsemen, and without fail Sambha Ji would fall into his power. The eager king did not fail to send the soldiers... [Sambha Ji] found himself encircled by his enemies, who took him and carried him away to the camp of Aurangzeb.

Let the reader hear how this king rewarded those who had worked in his favour. The first to pay for the capture of Sambha Ji was the selfsame Kab Kalish, who by a horrible death proclaimed to all the world the barbarity of the man who had already drunk so much blood, as may be seen from the rest of my history. Aurangzeb ordered that the tongue should be pulled out by the roots from the throat of the traitorous Kab Kalish, so that he might be unable to state that this great treason had been plotted at his (Aurangzeb's) instigation.

What could Sambha Ji hope for when his first minister, against whom the war had not been waged, came to such a miserable end! He well understood that death must be the end of all his doings. But he did not foresee the mockery he should have to suffer before he died. Aurangzeb ordered him to be bound

strongly upon a camel, and on his head was placed a long cap covered with little bells and rattles. This was meant for mockery of the Hindu princes and the Brahmans, who usually wear pointed caps, but without rattles. The licentious man having been thus bound, Aurangzeb directed that he should be paraded through the camp. The camel was made to run, so that the rattles, made a great noise and aroused everyone's curiosity, and thus men issued from their tents to see who it was coming. In the course of the procession they made the camel turn from time to time with such suddenness, that the person on it looked as if he must fall from the various movements he made, but the cords with which he was bound prevented it and at the same time wearied him out. Finally when the perambulation of the royal camp had been completed, the tyrant ordered him to be dragged into his presence. When there he ordered his side to be cloven open with an axe and his heart to be extracted. The body was then flung on a dunghill and abandoned to the tender mercies of the dogs. Thus did the licentious Sambha Ji pay for interfering with others.

7. Marathas resolve to carry on struggle, Niccolao Manucci⁵¹

It seemed as if the death of Sambha Ji was bound to secure Aurangzeb's lordship over all the lands of Hindustan down to the sea. But the commanders of valorous Shiva Ji, father of this unfortunate man, were by this practised in fighting the Moguls, and expert in the way of dealing with those foreigners (? Persians and Central Asians) who deserted from his side. They determined to continue the campaign and uphold the cause of Ram Raja, younger brother of the deceased. Therefore they took him out of prison and made him their prince. □

Chapter 13

Jews and Parsees

- A. Jews
- B. Parsees

A. JEWS

1. Jews cannot openly practice their faith in Portuguese controlled territory, Jan Huygen van Linschoten¹

There are great numbers of *Moores* and *Iews* in all places of *India*, as at *Goa*, *Cochin*, and within the Land. In their Houses and Apparell they follow the manner of the Land wherein they are resident: amongst the *Indians* they haue their Churches, *Sinagogues*, and *Mesquitas* wherein they vse all Ceremonies according to their Law: but in the place where the *Portugals* inhabite and gouerne, it is not permitted vnto them to vse them openly, neither to any *Indian*, although they haue their Families and dwelling Houses and get their liuings, and deale one with the other: but secretly in their Houses they may doe what they will, so that no man take offence therat: without the Townes and where the *Portugals* haue no commandment, they may freely vse and exercise their Ceremonies and Superstitions, euery one as liketh him best, without any man to let or denie them: but if they bee found openly doing it in the *Portugals* Townes and Jurisdictions, or that they haue any point of Christian ceremonies mingled among theirs, both men and women die for it, vnlesse they turne vnto the *Christian* Faith: they are most white of colour, like men of *Europe*, and have many faire Women. There are many of them that came out of the Countrey of *Palestina* and *Ierusalem* thither, and speake ouer all the Exchange verie perfect and good *Spanish*.

2. Jews in Kashmir, Francois Bernier²

I would be as much pleased as *Monsieur Thevenot* himself if *Jews* were found in these mountainous regions; I mean such *Jews* as he would no doubt

desire to find, — Jew's descended from the tribes transported by *Shahmaneser*: but you may assure that gentleman that although there seems ground for believing that some of them were formerly settled in these countries, yet the whole population is at present either *Gentile* or *Mahometan*. In *China*, indeed, there are probably people of that nation, for I have lately seen letters in the hands of our reverend Father the Jesuit of *Dehli*, written by a *German* Jesuit from *Pekin*, wherein he states that he had conversed with *Jews* in that city, who adhered to the forms of *Judaism* and retained the books of the Old Testament. They were totally ignorant of the death of Jesus Christ and had expressed a wish to appoint the *Jesuit* their *Kakan* [*Khaqan*, title of the Mogol Chingez and those who succeeded him on the throne of Northern China], if he would abstain from swine's flesh.

There are, however, many signs of *Judaism* to be found in this country. On entering the kingdom after crossing the *Pire-penjale* mountains, the inhabitants in the frontier villages struck me as resembling *Jews*. Their countenance and manner, and that indescribable peculiarity which enables a traveller to distinguish the inhabitants of different nations, all seemed to belong to that ancient people. You are not to ascribe what I say to mere fancy, the *Jewish* appearance of these villagers having been remarked by our *Jesuit Father*, and by several other *Europeans*, long before I visited *Kachemire*.

A second sign is the prevalence of the name of *Mousa*, which means *Moses*, among the inhabitants of this city, notwithstanding they are all *Mahometans*.

A third is the common tradition that *Solomon* visited this country, and that it was he who opened a passage for the waters by cutting the mountain of *Baramoule*.

A fourth, the belief that *Moses* died in the city of *Kachemire*, and that his tomb is within a league of it.

And a fifth may be found in the generally received opinion that the small and extremely ancient edifice seen on one of the high hills was built by *Solomon*; and it is therefore called the *Throne of Solomon* to this day.

You will see then, that I am not disposed to deny that *Jews* may have taken up their residence in *Kachemire*.

The purity of their law, after a lapse of ages, may have been corrupted, until, having long degenerated into idolatry, they were induced, like many other pagans, to adopt the creed of *Mahomet*.

It is certain that many *Jews* are settled in *Persia*, at *Lar* and *Hyspan*; and in *Hindoustan*, towards *Goa* and *Cochin*. I also learn that in *Ethiopia*, where they are very numerous, these people are remarkable for courage and military prowess; and if I am to believe two ambassadors from the *Ethiopian* King, lately at this court, there was a *Jew*, fifteen or sixteen years ago, grown so

formidable, that he endeavoured to erect an independent kingdom in a certain small and mountainous district difficult of access.

B. PARSEES

1. Neither bury nor burn their dead, Edward Terry³

There is one sect among the Gentiles which neither burne nor interre their dead. They are called Parcees; who incircle pieces of ground with high stone walls, remote from houses or roade-wayes, and therein lay their carkasses wrapped in sheetes; thus having no other tombes but the gorges of ravenous fowles.

2. Live peaceably, John Albert de Mandelslo⁴

Their habitations are for the most part along the Sea-Coast, and they live very peaceably, sustaining themselves by the advantage they make out of the Tobacco they plant, and the *Terry* they get out of the Palms of those parts, and whereof they make *Arak*, in regard they are permitted to drink Wine. They inter-meddle also with Merchandise, and the exchange of money and keep Shops, and are of all Trades, except those of Farriers, Blacksmiths and Locksmiths...

3. Fled from Persia with Muslim advent, J. Ovington⁵

...the *Persies* are a Sect very considerable in *India*, of whom the Tradition is, that coming from *Persia* in a Tempest, at the time that *Mahomet* and his Followers gave Laws to the *Persians*, (which they were unwilling to submit to) they were driven to that distress, that they almost despair'd of Life, 'till hearing a Cock Crow, and espying Fire at Land, they recover'd their hopes of safety, and gain'd a speedy Arrival. The Cock therefore is as much esteemed by them as the Cow is by the *Bannians*, of the lives of both which, they are the zealous Patrons and Protectors.

Fire Worshippers

For the Worshipping of Fire seems to be the Ancientst instance of Idolatry in the World, inasmuch (as some think) that *Cain*, after he was banished from the presence of the Lord, turned a downright Idolater, and then introduced the Worship of the Sun, as the best resemblance he could find of the Glory of the Lord, which was wont to appear in a flaming Light. And in after-times, they Worshipped Fire in the Eastern Countries as the best Emblem of the Sun, when it was absent. Nor was the Vestal Fire ever more Sacred, than all other Fires are with the *Persies*, the extinction of which, if it is voluntary, is a Crime

as hainous, as if the vital Heat of the Cock or some other beloved Animal were destroy'd; so that if their Houses were on Fire, they would sooner be persuaded to pour on Oyl to increase, than Water to asswage the Flame. If a Candle is once lighted, they would judge the Breath of him more than Pestilential, that durst attempt to blow it out. And a *Persy* Servant, who is commanded to bring a hot Steel, and warm with it a Bowl of Punch, will plead his Excuse, and that he dare not hasten the coolness of the Steel by a violent abatement of the Heat. The active Flame must be allow'd to live, whilst there's any Fuel for it to feed on; if the Fire is once kindled, all care is taken that it comes to a natural Expiration, and no violence allow'd to bring it to a period sooner. Another account we have for their respect of Fire, is, that their great Law-giver, *Zerootst*, was taken into Heaven, and brought from thence Fire with him (*Prometheus* like) which he commanded his Followers afterwards to Worship.

They have other Fables concerning *Abraham*, that he was once in the Devil's Power, who expos'd him to the Flames, but the kind Fire would not fasten on him; from which they infer the great unreasonableness of destroying that Element, which was so averse, (notwithstanding all its Fury) from hurting *Abraham* their Friend; the Reason of this may be, because that *Abraham* came from the Land of Ur, which signifies Fire, which might give the occasion for the Fable of his Escaping the Fire.

Belief in one Supreme Being

They own and Adore one Supreme Being, to whom, as he is the Original of all things, they dedicate the first Day of every Month, in a solemn observance of his Worship. And enjoin, besides these, some others for the Celebration of Publick Prayers.

At their solemn Festivals, whither an hundred or two sometimes resort, in the Suburbs of the City, each Man according to his Fancy and Ability, brings with him his Victuals, which is equally distributed, and eat in common by all that are present. For they shew a firm Affection to all of their own Sentiments in Religion, assist the Poor, and are very ready to provide for the Sustenance and Comfort of such as want it. Their universal Kindness, either in employing such as are Needy and able to work, or bestowing a seasonable bounteous Charity to such as are Infirm and Miserable; leave no Man destitute of Relief, nor suffer a Beggar in all their Tribe; and herein so far comply with that excellent Rule of *Pythagoras*, to enjoy a kind of Community among Friends.

These *Persies* are by another Name term'd *Gaures*, or Worshippers of Fire, because of their Veneration for that Element; and were Transported into *India*, when *Calyf Omar* reduc'd the Kingdom of *Persia*, under the Power of the *Mahometans*; and they profess the Ancient Religion of the *Persians*. But

their Religion spread it self more Westerly, it seems than *Persia*; But I believe what remains of this Cast, are most of them in the Kingdom of the *Great Mogul*. But we read of some in *Persia* of great Antiquity. For near *Yesd* in the Province of *Ayrack*, (or *Hierack Agemi*) which yields the richest and Fairest Tapestries of all *Persia*, and of the World; and on the Mountain *Albors*, then are yet some Worshippers of Fire, who are said to have used it above 3000 Years.

Do not eat beef

They are not quite so Abstemious in their Diet as the *Bannians*, but Superstitiously refuse to drink after any Stranger, out of the same Cup. *Hindoes* will eat of one kind of Flesh, some of another, but all refrain from *Bief*, out of respect to *Kine*.

Industrious

In their Callings they are very Industrious and diligent, and careful to train up their Children to Arts and Labour. They are the principal Men at the Loom in all the Country, and most of the Silks and Stuffs at *Suratt*, are made by their Hands. The High-Priest of the *Persies* is called *Destoor*, their Ordinary Priests *Daroos*, or *Harboods*.

Way of Burial

I shall not mention their Marriages, which much resemble the manner of the *Bannians*, but proceed only to a Description of their way of Burying, which is this. The noblest Sepulture which they fancy they can bestow upon their deceased Friend, is exposing them to be devour'd by the Fowls of the Air, and bestowing their Carcasses on the Birds of Prey. After the Body is for some time dead, the *Halalchors* (which are a sort of sordid *Indians*) take and carry it out upon a Bier into the open Fields, near the place where it is expose'd to the Fowls of Heaven. When 'tis there decently deposited upon the Ground, a particular Friend beats the Fields and neighboring Villages, upon the hunt for a Dog, till he can find one out; and having had the good luck to meet him, he cherishes and intices him with a Cake of Bread, which he carries in his Hand for that purpose, 'till he draws him as near the Corps as he is able; for the nearer the Dog is brought to the dead Body, the nearer are its approaches to Felicity. And if the hungry Cur can by bits of Cake be brought so nigh the Deceased, as to come up to him, and take a piece out of his Mouth, 'tis then an unquestionable Sign, that the Condition he died in was very happy; but if the timorous Dog startles at the sight, or loaths the Object, or being lately well fed, has no Stomach to that ordinary Morsel, which he must snatch out of the dead Man's Jaws, the Case then with him is desperate, and his state deplorable. The poor Man whom I saw, was by these Prognosticks, very

miserable; for the sturdy Cur would by no means be inticed to any distance near him. When the Dog has finisht his part of the Ceremony, two *Daroos*, at a Furlong's distance from the Bier, stand up with joined Hands, and loudly repeat for near half an hour, a tedious Form of Prayer by Heart; but with such a quick dispatch, that they scarce drew Breath all the while, as if they had been under some invincible necessity of running over the Words in such a time. All the while they were thus gabling, a piece of White Paper fasten'd to each Ear, o'erthwart the Face, hung down two or three Inches below the Chin; and as soon as they had ended their Petitions, the *Halalchors* took up the Corps, and conveyed it to the Repository, which was near; all the Company ranking themselves by two and two, and following it with joined Hands. The place of Sepulture is in the open Fields, within a Wall built in form of a Circle, about twelve Foot high, and about an hundred in the Circumference; in the middle of which was a Door of Stone about six foot from the ground, which was open'd to admit the Corps. The Ground within the Walls is rais'd above four Foot, and made shelving towards the Centre, that the Filth and Moisture which are drain'd continually from the Carcasses may by an easie passage descend into a Sink made in the middle to receive them. The Corps therefore was left here, and all the Company departing thence, betook themselves to a Rivolet that run near the place for Ablution, to cleanse themselves from what defilements, on this Melancholy occasion, they might have contracted; and retir'd afterwards to their proper Habitations in the City, from whence this place is distant about a Mile. But within the space of a Day or two after, some of the nearest Relatives return against hither, to observe which of the Eyes of their deceased Friend was first pickt out by the hungry Vultures; and if they find that the right Eye was first seis'd on, this abodes undoubted Happiness; if the left, they then are sorrowful, for that's a direful sign of his Misery.

The *Persies* are very nice in the preservation of their Hair, and careful to preserve whatever is cut of their Heads or Beards, that nothing of it be lost or carelessly thrown about, but once a Year be decently laid in their Burying place.



Chapter 14

Christianity

- A. State of Christianity in India
- B. Conversions
- C. Marriage ceremonies

A. STATE OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA

1. Syrian Christians in Malabar, Tome Pires¹

There are fifteen thousand Christians in this province of Malabar, dating back to the time of St. Thomas the Apostle. Two thousand of these are men of repute, noblemen, merchants, estimable people and the others are craftsmen, poor people. They are privileged and allowed to touch the Nayars. These Christians live in the district from Chetwayi (*Chetua*) to Quilon (*Coulam*). Outside this area there are none of the early Christians – I do not refer to those who have been converted in Your Highness' time, nor to those who are now being converted every day, and who are numerous.

2. The tomb of St. Thomas, Duarte Barbosa²

Here [in Mylapur] lies buried the body of the Blessed Saint Thomas very modestly in the church which his disciples and fellows built for him. The Moors and Heathen used to burn lights on it, each one claiming it as his own. The church is arranged in our fashion with crosses on the altar and on the summit of the vault, and a wooden grating, and peacocks as devices, but it is now very ruinous, and all around it covered with brushwood, and a poor Moor holds charge of it and begs alms for it, from which a lamp is kept burning at night, and on what is left they live.

3. Fr. Nunes Barreto on folklore collected at Mylapore in 1566³

There was here a very old and great city, all of which is now covered by the sea. And even now the various places in the sea to which the fishermen go

to fish, are known by them one as the palace of the king, and another as the pass of the king, and others still by the names which they bore in olden times. From this it would appear that it was the city of Calamina in which the holy Apostle was crowned with the glory of martyrdom.

4. Power of Jesuits at Salsette, Pietro Della Valle⁴

This Island of *Salsette* is full of very fair Towns and abundance of Houses. Above all the *Jesuits* have the goodliest places, and 'tis counted that perhaps a third part of the Island is theirs; for, besides three good Towns which belong wholly to them, they have also dominion and government in all the other Towns too which are not theirs; they have Churches everywhere, Lands and store of goods, and, I believe, all the Parishes are govern'd by them in Spirituals with Supreme Authority; whence this people acknowledge more Vassallage to the *Jesuits* than to the King himself. The case is the, same in another Island call'd *Bardeos*, adjacent also to that of *Goa*, but more Northward, which is under the government of the *Franciscans*. Nor is it otherwise in almost all the other Territories of the *Portugals*; so that it may justly be said that the best, and perhaps too the greatest part of this State is in the hands of Religious Orders.

5. Goa a priest-ridden city, Pietro Della Valle⁵

On *March* the first there was also another Procession in *Goa* of the *Disciplinanti*, which I went not to see; the like is made every *Fryday* during all Lent, and therefore I shall not stay to describe it. I believe there is no City in the world where there are more Processions than in *Goa* all the year long; and the reason is because the Religious Orders are numerous, and much more than the City needs; they are also of great authority and very rich, and the People, being naturally idle and addicted to Shews, neglecting other Cares of more weight and perhaps more profitable to the Publick, readily employ themselves in these matters; which, however good as sacred ceremonies and parts of divine worship, yet in such a City as this which borders upon Enemies and is the Metropolis of a Kingdom lying in the midst of *Barbarians* and so alwayes at Warr, and where nothing else should be minded but Arms and Fleets, seem according to worldly Policy unprofitable and too frequent, as also so great a number of Religious and Ecclesiastical persons is burdensome to the State and prejudicial to the Militia.

In the Evening of every *Fryday* of Lent there is a Sermon upon the Passion in the Church of *Giesu*; and so likewise in other Churches, but upon other dayes and hours. At the end of these Sermons certain Tabernacles are open'd, and divers figures, representing some passages of the Passion (according to the subject of the Sermon), are with lighted Tapers shewn to the People; as one day that of the '*Ecce Homo*;' another day Our Lord with the Cross upon

his shoulders; and the last day the Crucifix; and so every day one thing suitable to the purpose. Oftentimes they make these figures move and turn, as they made the Robe fall off from the *Ecce Homo* and discover the wounded Body; at which sight the devout People utter prodigious Cryes, and the Women force themselves to shriek out; and the *Signore*, or Gentlewomen, are so zealous that they not onely cry out themselves, but make their Maids do so too and beat them even in the Church if they do not and that very loudly, whether they have a will to it, or no. Strange devotion indeed!

6. The Inquisitor's festival, Pietro Della Valle⁶

On the twenty-ninth of the same month, being the day of *S. Pietro Martire*, who, they say, was the Founder of the *Inquisition* against Hereticks, the Inquisitors of *Goa* made a Festival before their House of the Inquisition which is in the *Piazza* of the Cathedral and was sometimes the Palace of *Sabaio*, Prince of *Goa*, when the *Portugals* took it, whence it is still call'd *la Piazza di Sabaio*. After solemn Mass had been sung in the Church of *San Dominico*, as Vespers had been the day before, in presence of the Inquisitors, who, coming to fetch the Fryers in Procession, repair'd thereunto *in Pontificalibus*, in the evening, many carreers were run on horse-back by the *Portugal* Gentry, invited purposely by the Inquisitors; and a day or two after (for this Evening was not sufficient for so many things) there was in the same *Piazza* a Hunting, or Baiting, of Bulls after the Spanish fashion; but the Beasts, being tame and spiritless, afforded little sport; so that I had not the curiosity to be present at it. This is a new Festival lately instituted by the present Inquisitors, who, I believe, will continue it yearly hereafter.

7. Canonisation of Francis Xavier at Goa, Pietro Della Valle⁷

On *February* the tenth, as a beginning of the solemnities for the Canonisation, the *Jesuits* sung Vespers in the Church of the Professed-house of *Giesu*. The night following they caused a numerous *Maskerade* of young Students, not Collegians, but Outliers, to pass through the streets on horse-back, clothed in several rich habits and following a Standard whereon were pourtrayed the Effigies of the Saints. The next day there was a solemn Mass in the same Church, and a Sermon made by the Visitor, F. Andren Palmuro, at which the Vice-Roy was present. In the Evening upon a very great Theatre, erected without the Church in the *Piazza*, for representing many dayes together the Life of *San Francesco Scavier*, they caused a Squadron of young men mask'd in the habits of Peasants to dance many gallant Ballets with Musick.

On the twelfth of *February*, in the presence of the Vice-Roy and of all the Nobility and People of the City, (for whose conveniency scaffolds and seats were erected in the *Piazza* round about the Theatre, both for Men and

Women) the first Act of the above-said Comedy, or Tragedy, (as they said) of the Life of *Santo Sciavier* was represented. Of which Tragedy, which was a composition represented by about thirty persons, all very richly clothed and decked with Jewels, no less extravagant than grand, whereunto they entered to act the rare Musick, gallant dances, and various contrivances of Charriots, Ships, Galleys, Pageants, Heavens, Hells, Mountains and Clouds, I forbear to speak, because I have the printed Relations by me.

On the eighteenth of *February*, the Vice-Roy being indispos'd, the proceedings were suspended and nothing was done. But on the three following dayes, by two Acts a day, the whole Tragedy was rehearsed. It comprehended not only the whole Life, but also the Death of *San Francesco Sciavier*; the transportation of his Body to *Goa*, his ascension into Heaven, and, lastly, his Canonisation.

On the seventh of the same moneth Mass was sung in the College of *San Paolo Nuevo*, and a predication made by F. *Flaminio Calo*, an *Italian*, upon the Beatification of the Blessed *Luigi Gonsaga*, who was also a Father of the Society. In the Evening the *Portugals* of quality passed about the streets in a *Maskerade*, accompanied with Chariots and Musick; about twelve of us went out of the House of Sig: *Antonio Baraccio*, all clothed in the same Livery, which I took care to get made according to my Phansie...

On *February* the eighteenth, in the Morning, solemn Mass was sung and a Sermon made upon the Canonisation of Saints in *San Paolo Vecchio*...

On *February* the nineteenth a very solemn Procession was made from *San Paolo Vecchio* to *Giesu*, through the principal streets of the City: which Procession exceeded all the rest in number of Pageants, Chariots, and Ships, and other Erections, filled with people who represented several things, and good Musick, accompanied with several Dances on Foot, and many other brave devices: of all which things I speak not, because I have a printed Relation thereof by me. In the rear of the Procession was carried by many of the Fathers, dressed in their Copes, the Body of *San Francesco Sciavier*, inclos'd in a fair and rich Silver Coffin, with a Silver Canopie over it, made very gallant, and the Effigy of the Saint behind. Then came, a great Standard with the pourtraytures of the Saints, carry'd likewise by some of the Fathers; and after that, all the Crosses of their Parishes of *Salsette*, and onely one Company of the Fryers of Saint *Francis*. Of the other Religious Orders in *Goa* none appeared here; because they said they would not go in the Processions of the *Jesuits*, since the *Jesuits* went not in those of others. With this Procession, which ended about noon, ended also the solemnities for the above said Canonisation.

8. Christians at Agra, Jean de Thevenot⁸

Some affirm that there are twenty-five thousand Christian Families in

Agra, but all do not agree in that [Bernier speaks of only 25-30]. This indeed is certain, that there are few Heathen and *Parsis* in respect of [in comparison with] *Mahometans* there, and these surpass all the other Sects in power, as they do in number. The Dutch have a Factory in the Town; but the English have none now, because it did not turn to account.

9. Church at Madras built by French Capuchin Fathers, Abbe Carre⁹

There is a fine Christian church in the town served by the Fathers Ephraim and Zenon, French Capuchins, who founded this church about thirty-five years ago. Since then they have done wonderful work for the glory and propagation of our holy religion, and it seems as if God had especially wished that His name should be glorified and our Church exalted in this heathen land by the efforts of these two good priests. They were sent out from France by their Superiors some thirty-six years ago to preach the Gospel in Pegu. Father Ephraim there met a worthy Portuguese called Joan Peraire [Joao Pereira], a native of India, who implored the Father with prayers and supplications to come with him to Madras, where he lived. He acceded to this request and the two arrived in Madras about the same time that the English began their settlement there. They had only just laid the foundation of their Fort, and nothing indicated the two great towns we see here today. This good Portuguese, with some other Christians, both Portuguese and Hindu, being overjoyed at having in their midst such a virtuous and exemplary priest, whose doctrine extremely perturbed the numerous Portuguese priests in these parts, showed him every attention, in order to make him stay a year. More he could not promise, not being allowed to engage himself for a longer period, because his mission obliged him to preach the Gospel in other countries, if ordered. But at the end of the year he found himself so well established in this church, which had been built for him, that all the Christians would not release so fine a pastor, who increased the fold of Jesus Christ in quite a marvellous way. Seeing his large flock and the impossibility of abandoning this good work and ministry under God, he wrote to his companion, Father Zenon, whom he had left in another place in India to come and work here with him to the glory of God.

Fathers persecuted by the Portuguese, kidnapped and imprisoned

These two good priests, now re-united and animated by the same zeal and love for our Church, were the admiration of all neighbouring people. But, as Jesus Christ foretold to His apostles, when He sent them out to preach the Gospel, they encountered trials, thorns, persecutions, and afflictions, in the wild countries to which they went as missionaries: so these two holy men endured all the things promised by our Saviour to those who work for Him with sincere and zealous hearts. But let us see from whom they received these

afflictions and persecutions? Was it from the Hindus? From the heathens? From the Muhammadans and natives of the country? No, no. These people had too much veneration for the virtue of, and the marvels done by, these good priests. But from whom, then? A *falsis fratribus*, from those false brethren, of whom the apostle (St. Paul, 2 Cor. xi. 26) spoke: those who cannot bear to see virtue, brilliance, and good actions, which they cannot imitate. They wear a cloak of hypocrisy by which they stifle the glory and charitable deeds of worthy people. St. Thome, which is only half a league from Madras, then belonged to the Portuguese, and had a great many priests and ecclesiastics. These were stupid men raised in unbelievable ignorance of all the bright light of our Holy Schools. They were mostly engaged in occupations and employments far removed from the duties and obligations of their ministry. These people could not bear the renown of our good priests for virtue and doctrine. They determined to drive them from the country, and in order to succeed in this they began the persecution of the Portuguese and native Christians, who helped and supported these two apostles. The Madras Christians were vexed with excommunications, menaces, and many other inquisitions and unjust proceedings, to prevent them from attending church services which the Fathers celebrated with so much edification and success.

Finally, seeing that these stratagems were not efficacious, force was tried, and Father Ephraim, the head of the mission, was kidnapped. He was imprisoned for some months in the town of St. Thome, and was then sent in a passing ship to the Inquisition at Goa, where he was detained two whole years in close confinement. He was even refused devotional books to read, and all this because the worthy priest had one day inveighed with truth against the ignorance, abuses, and abominations, of those Portuguese Indians. Therefore it is not surprising that God (Who never allows such injustice and wickedness to go unpunished) soon afterwards permitted the Moors to drive out these infamous Portuguese from this lovely town of St. Thome and the surrounding districts. By this just punishment they lost all the riches and immense revenue drawn from these places.

English Governor also jealous, orders expulsion of the priests

At last the good priest returned gloriously after such persecution, which only made him ever more zealous than before, as gold is purified by fire. He resumed his work with a humility for which he was admired more than ever, and also weathered other storms with a holy calm. The last of these fell upon him a few years ago, during the reign of the English Governor who preceded the one in office for the last two years [Sir Edward Winter]. This was on the subject of the holy Bishop of Heliopolis, who had arrived in Madras en route to his mission in Siam and China [1663]. He stayed some days with these

Capuchin Fathers at the prayer of all the local Christians, who wished to receive the Sacrament of Confirmation at the hands of this holy prelate. However, some English officers, enemies of the Sacraments of our Church, poured their venom into the ears of Sir [Edward] Ointer [Winter], the English Governor, who pretended to be very offended and shocked that a Roman Bishop should dare to celebrate the ceremonies of his office in a town where the English were all powerful. He ordered the expulsion of the Bishop and the two priests, and threatened to exterminate all Christians who dared to celebrate any ceremonies of our Church, both then or for the future. The good Bishop, full of zeal and charity for these poor Christians who followed him with tears in their eyes and did not wish to abandon him, withdrew to a village outside the town. There they erected an altar in the house of a converted Hindu, and the Bishop finished the good work which those enemies of our religion had tried to prevent.

God's revenge on Lutheran heretics

A veritable judgment of heaven then fell upon the heads of these Lutheran heretics. The English had some ships in the roads, ready to start on their voyage to England. Three English officers, who had incited the Governor to this violent act against our Church, were sent on board with his last orders. On their returning to land, they were all three drowned in the surf, in full view of the townspeople, who gave vent to exclamations of joy at this just punishment sent by God to men that had dared to attack His Church.

Father's serve English interests

Our holy Bishop of Heliopolis departed for Siam, and the two Capuchin Fathers returned to their church and were left in peace, as this Governor was dispossessed and sent away on the arrival of the present one. The latter had received much help from these two Fathers in the war and the plots at Madras to bring about this change of Governors. He gave them full liberty to perform their offices and pastoral functions in the same way as a parish priest in France; so that these two good pastors sing Mass every Sunday and Feast-day with great solemnity, music, and general edification. They have three schools of different sorts of Christians whom they teach there with fruitful results, viz. Portuguese, Hindus, and Malabars [here referring to Tamils]. They also administer all the fortunes of Christian orphans, which they put out at ten per cent interest until they are of an age to be married or given some employment. They are so clever and active in all the local affairs that the merchants ask their advice in their most important business and trade. Above all they serve the English marvellously well, and enjoy their confidence, on account of the entire devotion they give to their interests. That is the only thing I have against

them, and I had a few words with these priests about their putting the interests of the English above those of their own nation. To this the good Father Ephraim always replied that he was obliged to serve the English interests above those of any other nation because of the protection and privileges they enjoyed in Madras, where the English were lords and masters.

10. Christmas at Goa, no sermons in churches, Abbe Carré¹⁰

Sunday, 25 December: Christmas Day. In the morning, after having prayed in the Carmelite Church, I went to the Cathedral, where I hoped to hear a good sermon, and to see the Viceroy in his splendour and all the fine folk of Goa; but I was much surprised at finding hardly anyone in the streets and no worshippers in the church of Saye [Cathedral], or scarcely any priests to celebrate High Mass. After twelve O'clock I returned to the church and found the doors shut. I went to the Augustinians, the Paulists, the Dominicans, and the Franciscans, without getting my sermon; so I rang the bell at some convents to ask the porter when and where there was a preacher. They all informed me very rudely that there were no sermons that day, and that I had no business to ring their bell, at a time when the priests were at rest. I was, therefore, obliged to apologize to these good brother-porters and to ask them to excuse me, as I was a stranger and did not know the habits of the Indian-Portuguese. I returned, scandalized at not finding any service or sermon, and not even a church open for prayer on Christmas Day in this large city of Goa, formerly so flourishing and celebrated for its divine worship and the propagation of our Holy Faith.

When I returned to the Carmelite Fathers, I did not fail to express my astonishment at this to the Father Superior, who, being French, knew well with what solemnities and crowds of worshippers we celebrate Christmas in our churches in France. He laughed at hearing my complaints of the want of devotion I had found that day in Goa; and told me that I must not be surprised, as it was the custom of the Portuguese. They sat up on the night of Christmas Eve for the Midnight Mass, and considered that God owed them a day's rest after this effort, and therefore passed Christmas Day in repose or in feasting in their houses – laity as well as priests – which was the reason why so few people were in the streets and the churches were shut. He also told me that high-born ladies, if they were zealous and pious, and wished to hear Mass on that day, had an altar raised in their bedrooms and brought in a priest to say Mass at the foot of their beds. They stay in bed all day, in case of an indisposition which they feared might result from the hard work they had undergone in keeping awake in order to attend Midnight Mass. In this state they received visits from relations and friends, who came to pass the day in feasting with the doors shut. 'What!' I exclaimed to this Father, "are these the Christians who treat all other Christian nations as heretics and ignorant,

compared to themselves. I should not be surprised if they celebrate in the same way the greatest festivals of our Church, or if they reform to the same extent the beautiful customs and practices which we employ to encourage devotion in our churches in Europe. No, I am no longer surprised to see them living in this fashion, as they will not recognize the authority, the bulls, nor the bishops coming from His Holiness, because forsooth the King of Portugal did not send them, nor ratify their missions."

11. Missionaries forced to live like Hindus, bathe several times a day, eat herbs, Giovanni Careri¹¹

...Missioners there lead a very uneasy Life; for being oblig'd to imitate the ways of that Tribe, the better to ingratiate themselves with those Barbarians, they are forc'd to Wash themselves as many times a Day as the others do; to feed upon raw Herbs; and when two Fathers meet in the Street, one acting the *Naires*, and the other the *Polias*, they keep at a distance from one another, that they may not be suspected. There is no doubt they Convert very many; but abundance of them not being us'd to that Hardship, fall into dangerous Distempers.

B. CONVERSIONS

1. On the religious aspect of the Portuguese mission. A letter dated 1 March 1500, which Pedro Alvares Cabral, leader of the second expedition to India, carried from D. Manuel I to the Zamorin, under the impression that the latter was a Christian¹²

We give praise to God for our achievement (in reaching India) and for the information that there are in these countries Christian people. It will be our principal object to speak to you of these latter and to profit, whilst also maintaining the love and fraternity which ought to prevail among Christian kings. For we believe that God, Our Lord, did not permit this great achievement of our navy only to serve our temporal interests, but also to strive for the spiritual betterment of souls and their salvation. It pleased God to bequeath both to you and to us the same Christian faith by which the whole world was united for six hundred years after the birth of Christ, until at last by the sins of mankind, there came certain sects and creeds contrary to the primitive religion of Christ, which sects had to come for the justification of the good and on account of the deceit of the wicked. These merited condemnation and loss, because they did not desire to receive the truth to be saved. Wherefore God warned them of what they should know and understand. For doing wrong and acquiescing in falsehoods they were condemned. These sects occupied the

greater part of the land between your country and ours – which impeded communication between us. This communication is now opened afresh by our navigation, and thereby God, to whom nothing is impossible, has cleared an obstacle. Wherefore knowing that the hand of God is manifest in all this and desiring to serve Him by carrying out His will, we are now sending you our captain, ships, and merchandise, besides a factor who, if it is your pleasure, will remain there to carry out his duties. We are also sending some religious versed in the teachings of Christ, and ecclesiastical ornaments for celebrating the divine office and administering the sacraments. These religious will enable you to know the doctrines of the Christian faith, instituted by Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, and as imparted to the twelve apostles, His disciples. After His holy resurrection these apostles preached this faith everywhere and it was received by the whole world. Two of them, St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew, preached in your parts of India, working many and stupendous miracles and attracting the people away from unbelief and idolatry – in which ere this the whole world was steeped, and converted them to the truth of the holy Christian creed. One of these apostles, St. Peter, was ordered by Our Lord, Jesus Christ, to be His chief vicar. Preaching in the city of Rome, then the centre of idolatry, he suffered martyrdom for Him, and lies buried there. From that time onwards this city has been the seat of the head of the faith of Christ by His command through the successors of St. Peter, the Holy Fathers. The Lord God wished that just as in former times Rome was the mother of error and falsehood, she should now be and continue for ever more to be the mother of truth.

The reason for undertaking this voyage to your shores is (to make known to you) these things of such high import and profit as well as of service to the Almighty. We, therefore, request you with brotherly affection to conform to the Divine will for your own profit and that of your kingdom, both spiritual and temporal, and wish that it should please you to be friends with us, which conversation and friendship we offer you most peacefully for His holy service. Be pleased to accept this and deal with our captain and our people with the same spirit of love and truth with which we are sending them to you. For, besides the obvious reasons, the repeated and diverse demonstrations of His will ought to convince you that our coming to you is of His ordination. There is, therefore, all the more reason why you should be pleased with a people who come from such a long distance and with such affection, seeking your friendship and company, and bringing you so much profit as you cannot hope to receive from any other country as from ours.

2. Afonso de Albuquerque, Portuguese Governor of Goa (1509-1515), describing the take-over of the port-city to King of Portugal¹³

I then burnt the city and put everything to sword, and for days

continuously the people shed blood. Wherever they were found and caught, no life was spared to any Musalman, and their mosques were filled up and set on fire. We counted 6,000 dead bodies. It was, my Lord, a great deed, well fought and well finished.

3. Afonso de Albuquerque to King of Portugal on treatment of Muslims in conquered areas¹⁴

I leave no town or building of the Mussalmans. Those who are taken alive, I order them to be roasted...

4. Duarte Nunes, bishop of Dume, on the need to root out idolatry in Goa, 12 January 1522¹⁵

It would be a service to God to destroy these temples, just in this island of Goa, and to replace them by churches with saints. Anyone who wishes to live in this island should become a Christian, and in that case may retain his lands and houses just as he has them at present; but, if he is unwilling, let him leave the islands...It may be that these people will not become good Christians, but their children will be...and so God will be served...

5. On the contributions of Miguel Vaz, Vicar-General of India and the Jesuit, Francis Xavier, Garcia da Orta¹⁶

That fishery belongs to the King our Lord. It should yield much for there is so much zeal for the faith among more than fifty thousand Christians who do the work there. This Christianity was the work of one man, no less virtuous than learned, named Miguel Vaz, who was Vicar-General of India. This conversion to Christianity was afterwards increased by Master Francisco, theologian, who was a principal of this holy company jointly with Father Ignacio, whose virtues and sanctities, if they were written down, would make a large book.

6. Order of Portuguese Governor of 30 June 1541 on conversion of Hindus¹⁷

All the Hindu temples be destroyed, not leaving a single one on any of the islands.

7. Francis Xavier, of the Society of Jesus, on his experiences in Travancore in a letter of January 1545¹⁸

All the heathen are filled with admiration at the holiness of the law of God, and express the greatest shame at having lived so long in ignorance of the true God. They willingly hear about the mysteries and rules of the Christian religion, and treat me, poor sinner as I am, with the greatest respect. Many,

however, put away from them with hardness of heart the truth which they well know. When I have done my instruction, I ask one by one all those who desire baptism if they believe without hesitation in each of the articles of the faith. All immediately, holding their arms in the form of the cross, declare with one voice that they believe all entirely. Then at last I baptize them in due form, and I give to each his name written on a ticket. After their baptism the new Christians go back to their houses and bring me their wives and families for baptism. When all are baptized I order the temples of their false gods to be destroyed and all the idols to be broken in pieces. I can give you an idea of the joy I feel in seeing this done, witnessing the destruction of the idols by the very people who but lately adored them. In all the towns and villages I leave the Christian doctrine in writing in the language of the country. I prescribe at the same time the manner in which it is to be taught in the morning and evening schools.

8. Fr. Nicolas Lancilotto in a letter dated 5 December 1550 from Goa¹⁹

Whereas all those who came out here were soldiers, who went about conquering lands and enslaving people, these same soldiers began to baptize the said people whom they enslaved without any respect and reverence for the sacrament, and without any catechizing or indoctrination. And since the inhabitants of these countries are very miserable, poor and cowardly, some were baptized through fear, others through worldly gain, and others for filthy and disgusting reasons which I need not mention... Many people come in order to be baptized, and I ask them why they want to become Christians. Some reply because the lord of the land tyrannizes and oppresses them, and others reply that they must become Christians because they have nothing to eat. I then make them a little speech, explaining briefly what it means to be a Christian and why they should become one, for which purpose they must come for fifteen or twenty days to the church for instruction in the Christian faith, after which I will baptize them. They usually answer that they will become Christians if I baptize them there and then. Otherwise they will go away and not return, and this in fact is what they do.

9. Criticism of the high-handed methods of the Jesuits by Antony de Heredia, himself a Jesuit, who was in India between 1551-1561 and was expelled from the Order for other reasons on return to Portugal²⁰

With regard to the propagation of Christianity, the manner of it was so outrageous that it could not but cause scandal throughout the whole of India. We claimed that we did not force our religion on anyone. But in practice they saw us forcing our religion on the inhabitants of our territories, after we had

stated, and made an agreement with them, that they would be allowed to live without constraint and in peace...

10. Father Prancudo in a letter dated 15 November 1560 to the Portuguese Fathers on the attitude of Hindus of Damao²¹

They regard us as being so accursed that if we set foot, not in their houses, but merely on the porch, they tear down the house and build another one in place we have touched. If they give us something to drink, they will not use that vessel again...

11. Fr. James Fenicio on his meeting with the Todas in the Nilgiri Hills²²

I asked if they would follow all my instructions, and they said they would. Then I asked if they would leave off worshipping the buffalo and the 300 pagodas. They replied that they feared that the buffaloes and pagodas would do them some harm...

12. Father Jerome Xavier on Akbar's attitude towards Christianity²³

We are very confused...when we try to find out the real intentions of the King – and we do not understand him. On the one hand he makes much over our religion as well as over the images of Christ and Our Lady and at the same time abominates Mafumede [Mohammed] and all his works; yet, on the other hand, he follows the ways of the Gentiles, adoring the sun in the morning and praying at night, and also at noon and midnight. The Gentiles have much influence over him...

13. A document written in 1595 by Francis Pais, while giving an account of the rents of the temples in the islands of Goa²⁴

Since the goal of the conversion of infidels was the most important incentive that led the King our Lord to conquer these parts of India, once the island of Goa was conquered and its inhabitants at peace and accepting to be his vassals, the king sought to bring his holy intention to execution. He was informed that many inhabitants of the island were already Christians, but that the rest remained strong in their pagan faith. This was because they had been allowed to perform their rites and ceremonies to the idols they adore. The king therefore ordered that these idols be destroyed and that none would exist in the island of Goa and within its boundaries, and that in the lands under his dominion no pagan worship would be allowed. The purpose was that with this rigour of mercy (*rigor de misericordia*) they would forget their pagan cult and be converted to our holy faith, as already many had accepted and continue to accept conversion. In the fulfilment of this holy decision in the year [fifteen] forty the above mentioned idols were broken and destroyed.

14. Robert De Nobili, a Jesuit missionary at Madurai, on his attempts to adapt to the lifestyle of caste Hindus in a letter to Pope Paul V in 1619²⁵

...With the permission of Father General I left Rome in 1603 and after two years spent travelling I arrived in Goa. Soon after I came to Cochin, and thence to Madura. There I remarked that all the efforts made to bring the heathens to Christ had all been in vain. I left no stone unturned to find a way to bring them from their superstition and the worship of idols to the faith of Christ. But my efforts were fruitless, because with a sort of barbarous stolidity they turned away from the manners and customs of the Portuguese and refused to put aside the badges of their ancient nobility.

When I noticed that certain Brahmins were highly praised because they led lives of great hardship and austerity and were looked upon as if they had dropped from the sky, I thought that, if to win popularity among the pagans, and raise themselves in their esteem, they contrived to keep perpetual chastity and weaken their bodies by watching, fasting and meditation, I could, to win them to Christ, conform myself to their mode of life in all such things which were not repugnant to the holiness of the Christian doctrine, for it seemed to me that with divine help I could do for God's sake, what they did with wicked cunning to win vain applause and worldly honours.

Therefore I professed to be an Italian Brahmin who had renounced the world, had studied wisdom at Rome (for a Brahmin means a wise man) and rejected all the pleasures and comforts of the world.

I had already learned Tamil and Sanskrit, which among them holds the same place as the Latin among us...

15. Conversion of Mughal princes to Christianity, William Finch²⁶

All this moneth also was much stirre with the King about Christianitie, hee affirming before his nobles that it was the soundest faith, and that of Mahomet lies and fables. He commanded also three princes, his deceased brothers sonnes [Tahmuras, Bayasanghar and Hoshang, the three sons of the late Prince Daniyal], to be instructed by the Jesuites, and Christian apparel to be made for them, the whole city admiring...those three princes were christened solemnly, conducted to church by all the Christians of the citie to the number of some sixtie horse, Captaine Hawkins being in the head of them, with St. Georges colours carried before him, to the honour of the English nation, letting them flie in the court before Sha Selim himselfe. The eldest was named Don Philippo [after the King of Spain and Portugal; the baptism ceremony was performed by Father Xavier; Bayasanghar was christened Don Carlos], the second Don Carlo, the third Don Henrico; and on the ninth of September was christened another young prince, the Acabars [Akbar's brothers [Mirza Hakim]

sonnes sonne, by the name Don Duarte; the King giving daily charge to the Fathers for their instruction, that they might become good Christians.

16. Carmelite missionaries have no knowledge of Indian reality, threaten to teach a military trick to Marathas if Aurangzeb does not permit conversions, Niccolao Manucci²⁷

There can be no doubt that the missionaries who come from Europe bring with them much zeal. They expect on their arrival in these Indian lands that their labours will be very fruitful. But they know nothing, and have no experience of these people, nor the fitting way of dealing with them. I can give the following example. In the year 1680, being at the city of Aurangabad, I received a letter from a reverend father, a discalced Carmelite, whose name was Petro Paulo [heir to a principality in Naples and nephew of Pope Innocent XII].

Hearing me spoken of, he wrote informing me of his arrival at Surat from Persia. Then, without any beating about the bush, he went on to say I must speak to the king, Aurangazeb, and tell him to send an immediate order for the erection of a church at the port of Surat. He must also issue an order throughout his empire that missionaries should be admitted everywhere and openly allowed to convert Mahomedans and Hindus. If he raised objections to these demands, he (the Carmelite) would force the King of Persia to declare war against India by land and sea. He would also take other measures by teaching a secret to the Mahrattahs. He knew about a matchlock that could be fired five to seven times after only once loading it, and whenever he chose to do so.

He really did know such a device, as I will explain presently. I replied to his letter by saying that when the Saviour of the world came to this earth He showed humility in spite of His omnipotence, and by His tender words won over to Himself people in many parts of the world. I had not done what he asked, in order not to risk the loss of both our lives without any profit; and I advised him against communicating that secret to the Mahrattahs, for as soon as they had learnt it they would kill him.

In the year 82 (1682) I came across this reverend father in the city of Goa. He paid me a visit and espying a matchlock in my room, he loaded it with five charges of powder, each with a ball rammed down on it. He then gave a salvo of five shots with great ease. But when he placed the powder-horn to the fire-pan, he did it so that no one could see. I was much amazed, and the Lord Viceroy Dom Francisco de Tavora having been told, he employed me as negotiator to get the Carmelite to teach them this secret. As a reward ten thousand *xerafs* (*ashrafis*) were offered, and other gifts. But the Carmelite informed me that the secret could be confided to no one but a leading member of his own house.

The above-mentioned friar went to Rome and came back to Surat as archbishop [of Ansira (Ancyra)] bringing a number of missionaries. In a short time he died of a purgative administered to him by the Jesuit fathers, who, after his death, realised fourteen rupees for the dose.

Four years in Mughal army, no results

On February 3, 1705, there arrived here in Madras a missionary priest of German race, called Andre Guilhermo Wil Thomacey, who had been one of the company brought out by the above archbishop. He had lived four years in the army of the Mogul; so I asked him what results he had obtained in all that time in that army. He answered me that he had worked a great deal with those people in the arts of medicine and mathematics. The only gain was to be changed from a very active man into one very weak and depressed. Owing to having been ill-treated for his complaint, he was unable to start in the monsoon for Europe.

17. Jesuits and the Mughal Emperors, Francois Bernier²⁸

The *Jesuits* have a church in *Agra*, and a building which they call a college, where they privately instruct in the doctrines of our religion the children of five-and-twenty or thirty *Christian* families, collected, I know not how, in *Agra*, and induced to settle there by the kind and charitable aid which they receive from the *Jesuits*.

Invited by Akbar, Jahangir, oppressed by Shah Jahan

This religious order was invited hither by *Ekbar* at the period when the power of the *Portuguese* in the *Indies* was at the highest; and that Prince not only gave them an annual income for their maintenance, but permitted them to build churches in the capital cities of *Agra* and *Lahor*. The *Jesuits* found a still warmer patron in *Jehan-Guyre*, the son and successor of *Ekbar*; but they were sorely oppressed by *Chah-Jehan* the son of *Jehan-Guyre*, and father of the present King *Aureng-Zebe*. That Monarch deprived them of their pension, and destroyed the church at *Lahor* and the greater part of that of *Agra*, totally demolishing the steeple, which contained a clock heard in every part of the city.

The good Fathers during the reign of *Jehan-Guyre* were sanguine in their expectation of the progress of Christianity in *Hindoustan*. It is certain that this Prince evinced the utmost contempt for the laws of the *Koran*, and expressed his admiration of the doctrines of our creed. He permitted two of his nephews to embrace the Christian faith, and extended the same indulgence to *Mirza-Zulkarmin*, who had undergone the rite of circumcision and been brought up in the *Seraglio*. The pretext was that *Mirza* was born of Christian

parents, his mother having been wife of a rich *Armenian*, and having been brought to the *Seraglio* by *Jehan-Guyre*'s desire.

The *Jesuits* say that this King was so determined to countenance the Christian religion that he formed the bold project of clothing the whole court in *European* costume. The dresses were all prepared, when the King, having privately arrayed himself in his new attire, sent for one of his principal *Omrahs* whose opinion he required concerning the meditated change. The answer, however, was so appalling that *Jehan-Guyre* abandoned his design and affected to pass the whole affair as a joke.

They also maintain that when on his death-bed he expressed a wish to die a Christian, and sent for those holy men, but that the message was never delivered. Many, however, deny this to have been the case, and affirm that *Jehan-Guyre* died, as he had lived, destitute of all religion, and that he nourished to the last a scheme which he had formed, after the example of his father *Ekbar*, of declaring himself a prophet, and the founder of a new religion.

I am informed by a *Mahometan*, whose father belonged to *Jehan-Guyre*'s household, that in one of that King's drunken frolics he sent for some of the most learned *Mullahs*, and for a *Florentine* priest, whom he named Father *Atech* [Persian for fire], in allusion to his fiery temper; and that the latter having, by his command, delivered an harangue in which he exposed the falsehoods of the *Mahometan* imposture, and defended the truths of his own persuasion, *Jehan-Guyre* said that it was high time something should be done to decide the controversy between the *Jesuits* and *Mullahs*. 'Let a pit be dug,' he added, 'and a fire kindled. Father *Atech*, with the Gospel under his arm and a *Mullah*, with the *Koran*, shall throw themselves into it, and I will embrace the religion of him whom the flames shall not consume.' Father *Atech* declared his willingness to undergo the ordeal, but the *Mullahs* manifested the utmost dread, and the King felt too much compassion both for the one and the other to persevere in the experiment.

Whatever credit this story may deserve, it is indisputable that the *Jesuits* during the whole of *Jehan-Guyre*'s reign were honoured and respected at this court, and that they entertained what appeared a well-grounded hope of the progress of the Gospel in *Hindoustan*. Everything, however, which has occurred since the death of that Monarch, excepting perhaps the close intimacy between *Dara* and Father *Buze*, forbids us to indulge in any such expectation...

Missions necessary

...I am decidedly favourable to this establishment of missions, and the sending forth of learned and pious missionaries. They are absolutely necessary; and it is the honour as well as the peculiar prerogative of *Christians* to supply every part of the world with men bearing the same, character and following

the same benign object as did the Apostles. You are not, however, to conclude that I am so deluded by my love of missions as to expect the same mighty effects to be produced by the exertions of modern missionaries as attended the preaching of a single sermon in the days of the Apostles.

But conversions difficult, especially among Muslims

I have had too much intercourse with infidels, and am become too well acquainted with the blindness of the human heart to believe we shall hear of the conversion, in one day, of two or three thousand men. I despair especially of much success among *Mahometan*-subjects. Having visited nearly all the missionary stations in the East, I speak the language of experience when I say, that whatever progress may be made among *Gentiles* by the instruction and alms of the missionaries, you will be disappointed if you suppose that in ten years one *Mahometan* will be converted to Christianity. True it is that *Mahometans* respect the religion of the *New Testament*: they never speak of *Jesus Christ* but with great veneration, or pronounce the word *Aysa*, which means Jesus, without adding *Azeret*, or majesty. They even believe with us that he was miraculously begotten and born of a virgin mother, and that he is the *Kelum-Allah* and the *Rouh-Allah*, the Word of God and the Spirit of God. It is in vain to hope, however, that they will renounce the religion wherein they were born, or be persuaded that *Mahomet* was a false prophet. The Christians of *Europe* ought nevertheless to assist the missionaries by every possible means: their prayers, power and wealth, ought to be employed in promoting the glory of their Redeemer; but the expense of the mission should be borne by Europeans; for it would be impolitic to lay burthens on the people abroad; and much care should be had that want may not drive any missionary to acts of meanness. Missions ought not only to be liberally provided, but should be composed of persons of sufficient integrity, energy, and intelligence always to bear testimony to the truth, to seek with eagerness opportunities of doing good, — in a word, to labour with unwearied activity and unabated zeal in their Lord's vineyard whenever and wherever He may be pleased to give them an opening. But although it be the duty of every *Christian* State to act in this manner, yet there ought to be no delusion; credence ought not to be given to every idle tale, and the work of conversion, which in fact is full of difficulty, should not be represented as a matter of easy accomplishment.

C. MARRIAGE CEREMONIES

A Kanarese wedding, Pietro Della Valle²⁹

On May the nineteenth, one *Ventura da Costa*, a Native of *Canara*, was

married. He was a domestick servant to Sig. *Alvaro da Costa*, a Priest and our Friend, Lord of a Village near *Goa*; for whose Sake, who was willing to honour his servant's wedding in his own House, I and some other Friends went thither to accompany the Bride and the Bridegroom to the Church of *San Biagio*, a little distant in another Village, which was in the Parish of the Bride, where the Ceremonies were perform'd in the Evening for coolness sake. The Company was very numerous, consisting of many *Portugal* Gentlemen, such, perhaps, as few other *Canarini* have had at their marriages. The Bride and Bridegroom came under Umbrellas of Silk, garnish'd with silver, and in other particulars the Ceremonies were according to the custom of the *Portugals*; only I observ'd that, according to the use of the Country, in the Company before the Married Persons there march'd a party of fourteen, or sixteen, men oddly cloth'd after the Indian fashion, to wit naked from the girdle upward, and their Bodies painted in a pattern with white Sanders, and adorn'd with bracelets and necklaces of Gold and Silver, and also with flowers and turbants upon their heads, in several gallant fashions, and streamers of several colours hanging behind them. From the girdle downwards, over the hose which these *Canarini* use to wear short, like ours, they had variously colour'd clothes girt about them with streamers, flying about and hanging down a little below the knee; the rest of the leg was naked, saving that they had sandals on their feet. These danc'd all the way both going and returning, accompanying their dances with chaunting many Verses in their own Language, and beating the little sticks which they carry'd in their hands, after the fashion the Country, formerly taken notice of at *Ikkeri*. And indeed the dances of these *Canarini* are pleasant enough; so that in the Festivities made at *Goa* for the Canonisation of the Saints *Ignatio* and *Sciavier*, though in other things they were most solemn and sumptuous, yet, in my opinion, there was nothing more worthy to be seen for delight than the many pretty and jovial dances which interven'd in this Tragedy. The marry'd Couple being return'd from Church to the Bride's House, we were entertain'd with a handsome Collation of Sweet-meats in the yard, which was wholly cover'd over with a Tent, and adorn'd with Trees and green boughs, the Company sitting round, and the marry'd Couple, on one side at the upper end, upon a great Carpet under a Canopy. After which we all return'd home, and the Husband stay'd that night to sleep in his Wife's House.



Chapter 15

Islam and Muslims

- A. Muslim communities**
- B. Festivals**
- C. Marriage customs**
- D. Royal harems**
- E. Pilgrimages and Pirs**
- F. A Muslim view of how European nations differ**

A. MUSLIM COMMUNITIES

1. Mappilas on the Malabar Coast, Duarte Barbosa¹

And in this land of Malabar there are Moors in great numbers who speak the same tongue as the Heathens of the land, and go naked like the Nayres, but as a token of distinction from the Heathen they wear little round caps on their heads, and long beards "and they are so many and so rooted in the soil throughout Malabar that it seems to be they are a fifth part of its people over all its kingdoms and provinces.

2. Shias, Sunnis and Persian dominance, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier²

The diversity which exists among the Musalmans consists not only in the different explanations which they give of their Koran, but also in the different opinions which they entertain regarding the first successors of Muhammad. From this cause two sects, entirely opposed to one another, have sprung; the one calling itself the Sunnis is followed by the Turks, the other the Shias, which is the sect of the Persians. I shall not delay here to say more as to the difference between these two sects, which divide the Musalman world, having spoken sufficiently of them in my accounts of Persia, and I shall only describe the present condition of this false religion, both in the Empire of the Great Mogul and in the Kingdoms of Golkonda and Bijapur.

At the first establishment of Islam in India the Christians of the East were very ostentatious (*estouient fort superbes*) but not very devout, and the Idolaters were effeminate people unable to make much resistance. Thus it was easy for the Musalmans to subject both by force of arms. This they did with so much success that many Christians and Idolaters embraced the Law of Muhammad.

The Great Mogul with all his Court followed the sect of the Sunnis, the King of Golkonda that of the Shias, and the King of Bijapur had in his territories both Sunnis and Shias. The same might also be said of the Court of the Great Mogul, on account of the number of Persians who came to serve in his armies. It is true that although they regard the Sunnis with horror they nevertheless follow, in outward show, the religion of the Monarch, believing that to make or secure their fortune they may conceal their true belief, and that it suffices for them to cherish it in their hearts.

As for the Kingdom of Golkonda, Qutb Shah, who reigns at present [1625-72], maintains with great zeal the law of the Shias and as the nobles of his Court are nearly all Persians, they observe the customs of the sect of the Shias with the same strictness and the same freedom from restraint as in Persia.

I have elsewhere remarked that among the native Musalman subjects of the Great Mogul there are but few in positions of command; this is the cause why many Persians, oppressed by want, or ambitious of better fortune than they can hope for in their own country, go to seek for it in India. Being clever they are successful in finding means to advance themselves in the profession of arms, so that in the Empire of the Great Mogul as well as in the Kingdoms of Golkonda and Bijapur, the Persians are in possession of the highest posts.

Aurangzeb, especially, shows great zeal for the Sunni sect, of which he is so faithful a follower that he surpasses all his predecessors in external observance of the Law, which has been the veil by means of which he has concealed his usurpation of the kingdom. When he took possession of the throne he proclaimed that it was with the design of insisting upon the Law of Muhammad being observed in all its strictness, as it had been relaxed during the reigns of Shahjahan his father and Jahangir his grandfather. To show himself still more zealous for the Law he became a Dervish or Fakir, i.e. a professional beggar and under this false mantle of piety cleverly made his way to the Empire. Although he had, as I have said, numerous Persians in his service, he did not allow them to celebrate the festival of Hasan and Husain, sons of Ali, who were killed by the Sunnis, as I have mentioned in my account of Persia; and they themselves, to please the Emperor and advance their own fortunes, made no scruple about conforming themselves outwardly to the cult and customs of the Sunnis.

B. FESTIVALS

1. Nauroz celebrations under Jahangir, William Hawkins³

This emperour keepeth many feasts in the yeare, but two feasts especially many be nominated. The one called the Nourous [Nauroz], which is in honour of the New-Yeares day. This feast continueth eightene daies, and the wealth and riches are wonderfull that are to be seene in the decking and setting forth of every mans roome or place where he lodgeth when it is his turne to watch; for every nobleman hath his place appointed him in the palace. In the middest of that spacious place I speake of, there is a rich tent pitched, but so rich that I thinke the like cannot bee found in the world. This tent is curiously wrought and hath many seminans [Hind. *shamiyana*, an awning] joyning round about it of most curious wrought velvet, embroidered with gold, and many of them are of cloath of gold and silver. These seminans be shaddowes to keepe the sunne from the compasse of this tent.

2. Muharram in Golconda, Jean de Thevenot⁴

When I thought my self sufficiently informed of the places on the Coast of *Coromandel*, I returned from *Masulipatan* to *Bagnagar*, and stayed there three weeks longer, because I would not go from thence but in company of *Monsieur Bazon*, who had some business still remaining to make an end of; so that I had as much time as I needed to see the Celebration of the Festival of *Hussein*, the Son of *Aly*, which fell out at that time. The *Moors* of *Golconda* celebrated it with more Fopperies than they do in *Persia*; there is nothing but Masquarades for the space of ten days; they erect Chappels in all the streets with Tents, which they fill with Lamps, and adorn with Foot-Carpets; the Streets are full of People, and all of them almost have their Faces covered with Sifted ashes; they who are naked cover their whole Body with them, and they who are cloathed their Apparel; but the Cloaths they wear on these days are generally extravagant, and their Head-tire much more; they all carry Arms; most part have their Swords naked, and the poor have Wooden ones; several drag about the Streets long Chains as big as ones Arm, which are tied to their Girdle; and it being painful to drag them, they thereby move the pity of Zelots who touch them, and having kissed their Fingers, lift them up to their Eyes, as if these Chains were holy Relicks. They make Processions, wherein many carry Banners, and others have Poles, on which there is a Silver-Plate that represents *Husseins* hand; some with little Houses of a light wood upon their heads, skip, and turn at certain Cadences of a Song; others dance in a round, holding the point of their naked Swords upwards, which they clash one against another, crying with all their force *Hussein*: The publick Wenches themselves come in for a share in this Festival, by their extravagant Dances, Habits and Head-tire.

The Heathen Idolaters celebrate this Feast also for their diversion, and they do it with such Fopperies as far surpass the *Moors*; they drink, eat, laugh, and dance on all hands, and they have Songs which savour little of a doleful pomp, that the *Moors* pretend to represent: They observe only not to shave themselves during the ten days; but though it be prohibited to sell any thing except Bread and Fruit, yet there is plenty of all things in private Houses.

This Festival is hardly ever celebrated without Blood-shed; for there being several *Sunnis* who laugh at the others, and the *Chyais* not being able to endure it, they often quarrel and fight, which is a very proper representation of the Feast; and at that time there is no enquiry made into Man-slaughter, because the *Moors* believe, that during these ten days the Gates of Paradise are open to receive those who die for the *Musselman* Faith. At *Bagnagar* I saw one of these quarrels raised by a Tartar, who spake some words against *Hussein*: Some *Chyais* being scandalized thereat, fell upon him to be revenged, but he killed three of them with his Sword, and many Musket-Shot were fired: A Gentleman (who would have parted them) received a wound in the Belly that was like to have cost him his life, and seven were killed outright: Nay, some of the Servants of the *Grand Vizir* were engaged in it; and this chief Minister passing by that place in his *Palanquin*, made haste down that he might get on Horse-back and ride away. Next day after the Feast they make other processions, sing doleful ditties, and carry about Coffins covered with divers Stuffs, with a Turban on each Coffin, to represent the interment of *Hussein* and his Men, who were killed at the Battel of *Kerbela* by the Forces of *Calif Yezid*.

3. Ramzan at Governor's house at Hukeri, Belgaum district, Abbe Carre⁵

The whole town was *en fete* this day, particularly at the house of the Governor, all of whose officers were Mussulmans. They were celebrating, with much ceremony, their Romasan [Ramazan], or full moon, which is amongst them what we call mid-Lent. This Governor no sooner knew that a Frank was in the town than he sent four of his officers to invite me to the feast. I would certainly have given much to avoid this party, as I needed rest more than these Moorish ceremonies, which I knew well; but, though I felt very ill, I went to him with one of my servants. He was surrounded by the principal men of the town, whom he had also invited to this ceremony, which they celebrate in a most admirable way. They have the custom [of fasting] during their Lent, which lasts for a moon. I say a moon because the Muhammadans count the days only by moons, as we count ours by months; and it is an essential part of their religion that every new moon is the occasion of great ceremonies and kisses of peace and friendship among them. They also wash their bodies, make special prayers, and wish each other prosperity by the words 'Bonbarech bachel,

bombarek bachel [mubarak bashad, 'may it be fortunate'], which they recite, putting their hands in one another's, with several like antics, too many to recount. But to return to their fast; they neither eat nor drink, and refrain from many things from sunrise to the evening, when they can see the stars. This is undoubtedly a very difficult and austere thing for the devout and others who observe this fast; but in recompense they have all the night, which is generally passed in feasting and regaling themselves with every sort of licence and debauchery, as you will see by the following account.

The Governor, to whom, then, I was obliged to go, received me very politely. He made me sit near him on large Persian carpets, with which all the room was covered. I told him, when I saluted him, that I was far from well and wished to retire, so as to rest; but it was of no use. I had to remain; afterwards supper was served, which lasted three weary hours. A troop of instrument-players then entered, and sat down in a corner of the room, while at the same time came a dozen of courtesans, well dressed, bedecked with pearls and precious stones, and other sumptuous ornaments, which enhanced their beauty. They all saluted the Governor in their own fashion and retired to the middle of the room, where they sat in the form of a crescent, singing quite nicely for about half an hour. Then, becoming more animated by their songs and the sound of the instruments, they began to dance. They soon showed they were not novices in this line. The suppleness of their bodies, their agility and charm, the rhythm of their voices, and their skill in showing their passions by their gestures, were all absolutely perfect. They were really wonderful, and were much applauded by the guests and praised by the Governor. This was the best reward they could expect, because these obliging ladies are compelled to attend every fete and rejoicing of the Governor. They must go dressed in their richest attire to amuse him without any sort of recompense: on the contrary they have all to pay him a yearly tax, which they extract from others who wish to employ them.

4. Ramzan at Surat, J. Ovington⁶

The Moors with a very rigid and avowed Abstinence, observe every Year one Month, a Fast, which they term the *Ramezan*; during which time they are so severely abstemious that they stretch not their Hands to either Bread or Water, 'till the Sun be set, and the Stars appear'; no, not the Youths of 12 or 13 Years of Age. Which makes the Penance so much the more rigorous and troublesome, in that a draught of Water in those warm parching Climates is so very rigid and avowed Abstinence, observe every Year one Month, a Fast, which they term the *Ramezan*; during which time they are so severely abstemious necessary, and so refreshing to such as are ready to faint with Thirst. This Fast is not kept always at the same Season of the Year, but begins its date

Annually more early by Eleven Days. When I was at *Suratt*, this mortifying Custom was about the Month of *September*; at which time the *Moors* would begin to refresh themselves about the close of the Evening, and Eat then freely; and by an Early Collation in the Morning, before the dawning of the Light, prepare themselves for the drought and heat of the following Day. The Almighty, they told us, requir'd from *Mahomet*, that his followers should be oblig'd to this Austerity, the whole Circuit of the Year; but that the Holy Prophet, in compassion to the Faithful, obtain'd from God the confinement of it only to a Month, which would therefore highly aggravate their Crime, if they neglected the Dedication of so small a portion of the Year to this Religious Abstinence, tho' the observance of it had been injoin'd after a more rigorous manner than it is. And to add to the Sanctity of this Celebrated and solemn Fast, their *Mullahs*, acted with a sacred Zeal, and lively concern for the Souls of the People, will at this time spend whole Nights in the *Musseets*, in chanting aloud alternately their Divine Hymns, till the approach of day breaks up their Devotions: And so they compleat their Fast, according to the strictest Rules of the most rigid *Asceticks*, by mixing Prayers and Watchings with their Abstinence; in which, as well as in their Publick Prayers and Religious Worship, they tie themselves up to a very nice and devout strictness, and behave themselves with all those decencies of Respect, with that astonishing Reverence in the *Musseets*, as not to defile them with either their Eyes or Lips; not daring so much as to turn their Heads to gaze about, or utter the least word to one another. Which profound Respect casts an obloquy and deserv'd Reproach upon some Professors of a much purer Religion, and more Holy Faith, whose careless Deportment and familiar Address discountenance all the Religious decorum of Prayers, and might tempt those Heathens to conclude, that our Devotions were rather some light Diversion, than the effects of serious and sacred Thoughts.

C. MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

Marriage ceremony at Agra, Francisco Pelsaert⁷

In arranging a marriage, the bridegroom has no share in the choice, still less has the bride, for the selection is made by the parents, or, if they are dead, by other friends. When a youth is from 15 to 18 years old, his friends seek for the daughter of a man within the circle of friendship; but this applies to the rich rather than the poor, because as a rule soldier marries soldier; merchant marries merchant, and so on according to occupation. If they know of no suitable match, there are female marriage-brokers, who know of all eligible parties; the parents will call these in, and ask if there is no rich young lady

for their son. The brokers understand their business, and instead of one will suggest perhaps twenty-five. When the proposals have been thoroughly examined in regard to birth and present position, the parents choose the one which seems to be most suitable. Then the mother, or the nearest friends, go with the youth to the friends of the young lady they have chosen, even if they have no previous acquaintance, and, after compliments, ask if they will give the lady in marriage to the youth. After full discussion on both sides, there is usually an interval of some days, or, if they get an immediate assent, the youth, or bridegroom, sends a ring to the bride, with his compliments. She sends in return some betel, with a handkerchief or something of the kind, though the unfortunate bridegroom is not allowed to meet the ladies, still less to see if his future bride is white or black, straight or crooked, pretty or ugly; he must trust to his mother and friends. From this time on begins much merry-making in the house, with music and singing, and the congratulations of friends on both sides. When the bridegroom goes home with his friends, similar music begins there also, and this goes on continuously, night and day, with drums, pipes and other noise, provided by both parties, so that the whole neighbourhood is drowned in noise. At last the wedding-day comes. This is fixed for 15 or 20 days after the engagement, in order to give time for preparing the feast. Three or four days before it, the bridegroom and his parents go to the bride's house, with a great company of the whole tribe, and taking with them a large number of *gondas*, or large ornamented wooden dishes, full of confectionery, sugar, almonds, raisins and other fruits, and also a sum of money, 100 or 1000 rupees, according to their position. The money goes towards the expenses of the bride's relatives, most of which must be paid by the bridegroom, who also provides the bride's jewellery. The procession comes to the bride's house with much music and drumming, and the visitors stay for the evening meal, returning home at night. The next evening the friends of the bride come with similar noise and pomp, and hundreds of lights; they bring to the bridegroom a representation, made of cotton, satin, and paper, in the form of ships or boats, ornamented with tinsel, and various colours and flowers. This is placed on the roof of the house till it falls to pieces. Then the women employed for the purpose anoint the bridegroom, and rub his hands and feet with *mehndi* (a powder made into a paste), till they are quite red; this is supposed to have been sent by the bride, and the occasion is called Mehndi day in consequence. The guests remain to sup with the bridegroom, and go home at night. The next day is the marriage-day. The bridegroom is dressed in red, and so garlanded with flowers that his face cannot be seen, and towards evening all the friends and invited guests gather, and accompany the bride-groom to the bride's house with the greatest possible display of lighted fireworks, drums, trumpets, music, and singers, so that everything may

pass off without adverse comment. The bridegroom goes on horseback, with the male friends and a great cavalcade: the women follow in palanquins and carts, covered with the finest cloth that can be provided. The bridegroom goes to the place where the male guests are gathered, but he may not speak till the marriage is complete, but sits as if he were dumb. The ladies go into the female apartments, where there is music, singing, and dancing, as there is before the men, where the dancers sing and dance as skilfully as they can. It is the custom at all weddings and feasts to call in these people for the guests' entertainment. There are many classes of dancers, among them *lolonis*, who are descended from courtesans who have come from Persia to India, and sing only in Persian; and a second class, *domnis*, who sing in Hindustani, and whose songs are considered more beautiful, more amorous, and more profound, than those of the Persians, while their tunes are superior; they dance, too, to the rhythm of the songs with a kind of swaying of the body which is not lascivious, but rather modest. Other classes are named *horckenis* and *hentsinis*, who have various styles of singing and dancing, but who are all alike accommodating people. [The music] lasts till a quarter of the night has gone, when the Kazi's clerk and *moslena* [? *maulana*] comes, and he makes a prayer, and then joins them in marriage without the bride being present. The ceremony consists merely in the registration in the Kazi's book, showing that such and such a person has acknowledged taking such and such a woman as his wife. When this is over, the meal is served, and they go to eat, after which there is music, singing, and dancing as before, lasting the whole night till the morning. Then they pack up the bride's belongings, that is to say, whatever she brings to the marriage is displayed and carried away. The bridegroom follows with the same pomp as when he arrived in the evening, except the lights and fireworks; then his bride, sitting in a palanquin; and then follow the lady friends of bride and bridegroom. In this way he takes his bride home. His house is ready; he goes in, and his wife is brought to him, whom he now sees for the first time, and he may congratulate himself if she happens to be pretty, or to suit his taste. The marriage must be consummated at once, while the ladies sit and sing at no great distance; otherwise the bridegroom would be deeply disgraced, and the married ladies would send him the spinning-wheel. When the marriage has been consummated, the mother and an old woman enter, and, after their investigation, they begin to scream or sing 'Mubarak!' or Good Luck! as if a great victory had been won. Then the bridegroom goes to his apartments for the day, and the bride to hers; and the friends take their leave and depart, after each has received the gift of a piece of cloth, the men from the bridegroom and the women from the bride.

What I have described is the Hindustani custom, but Moguls, and also Hindus, have different ceremonies.

D. ROYAL HAREMS

1. Wives of the nobility, Francisco Pelsaert⁸

Their *mahals* are adorned internally with lascivious sensuality, wanton and reckless festivity, superfluous pomp, inflated pride, and ornamental daintiness, while the servants of the lords may justly be described as a generation of iniquity, greed and oppression, for, like their masters, they make hay while the sun shines. Sometimes while they [the nobles] think they are exalted to a seat in heaven, an envious report to the King may cast them down to the depths of woe. Very few of them, however, think of the future, but they enjoy themselves to the uttermost while they can. As a rule they have three or four wives, the daughters of worthy men, but the senior wife commands most respect. All live together in the enclosure surrounded by high walls, which is called the *mahal*, having tanks and gardens inside. Each wife has separate apartments for herself and her slaves, of whom there may be 10, or 20, or 100, according to her fortune. Each has a regular monthly allowance for her *gastos* [expenditure]. Jewels and clothes are provided by the husband according to the extent of his affection. Their food comes from one kitchen, but each wife takes it in her own apartments; for they hate each other secretly, though they seldom or never allow it to be seen, because of their desire to retain the favour of their husband, whom they fear, honour, and worship, as a god rather than a man. Each night he visits a particular wife, or *mahal*, and receives a very warm welcome from her and from the slaves, who, dressed specially for the occasion, seem to fly, rather than run, about their duties. If it is the hot weather, they undress the husband as soon as he comes in, and rub his body with pounded sandalwood and rosewater, or some other scented and cooling oil. Fans are kept going steadily in the room, or in the open air, where they usually sit. Some of the slaves chafe the master's hands and feet, some sit and sing, or play music and dance, or provide other recreation, the wife sitting near him all the time. They study night and day how to make exciting perfumes and efficacious preserves, such as *mosseri* or *falonj*, containing amber, pearls, gold, opium, and other stimulants; but these are mostly for their own use, for they eat them occasionally in the day-time, because they produce a pleasant elevation of the spirit. In the cool of the evening they drink a great deal of wine, for the women learn the habit quickly from their husbands, and drinking has become very fashionable in the last few years. The husband sits like a golden cock among the gilded hens until midnight, or until passion, or drink, sends him to bed. Then if one of the pretty slave girls takes his fancy, he calls her to him and enjoys her, his wife not daring to show any signs of displeasure, but dissembling, though she will take it out of the slave-girl later on.

Eunuchs

Two or three eunuchs, or more, who are merely purchased Bengali slaves, but are usually faithful to their master, are appointed for each wife, to ensure that she is seen by no man except her husband; and, if a eunuch fails in this duty, he, with everyone else to blame for the stranger's presence, is in danger of losing his life. They are thus held in high esteem by their master, but the women pay them still greater regard, for the whole management of the *mahal* is in their hands, and they can give or refuse whatever is wanted. Thus they can get whatever they desire – fine horses to ride, servants to attend them outside, and female slaves inside the house, clothes as fine and smart as those of their master himself. The wives feel themselves bound to do all this, in order that what happens in the house may be concealed from their husband's knowledge; for many, or perhaps most of them, so far forget themselves, that, when their husband has gone away, either to Court, or to some place where he takes only his favourite wife, and leaves the rest at home, they allow the eunuch to enjoy them according to his ability, and thus gratify their burning passions when they have no opportunity of going out; but otherwise they spare no craft or trouble to enable them to enjoy themselves outside. These wretched women wear, indeed, the most expensive clothes, eat the daintiest food, and enjoy all worldly pleasures except one, and for that one they grieve, saying they would willingly give everything in exchange for a beggar's poverty.

2. Royal seraglio at Bijapur, Abbe Carre⁹

The king in Bijapur has 1,400 women in his seraglio. This must not astonish you, because as in Europe the magnificence of our Christian princes is shown by a splendid stable of the finest horses from all over the world, so these Eastern princes show their power and grandeur by their seraglios, where they have women brought from every foreign kingdom... I say, then, that these women, shut up in the seraglio, can be justly called the king's flock, for the king alone can enter into this human fold. There are a quantity of eunuchs, who serve as sheep-dogs, as they prevent human wolves from coming near this delicate and precious treasure, which serves only for the king's use and pleasure. It is the first heritage that a new king finds in the royal palace when he takes over possession, as no one, whatever his position, is allowed to enter into this fold, nor to take away a single one of the sheep, on the death of a king. It frequently happens, however, that when a king wishes to gratify a favourite or some person of quality, he gives him one of these human sheep as a present, just as we see in Europe that a prince or nobleman will sometimes reward a friend, or one of his gentlemen, with a present of a fine horse from his stable. The woman on whom the lot falls is delighted at the change of owner. They prefer to browse in new fields, more pleasant than the king's

pastures, which often do not produce enough to feed his flock; it is so numerous that most of them have a meagre fare and suffer from hunger and a continual fast. And on carefully considering their lot, I cannot find any more grievous than theirs, which is a slavery of the most cruel kind one can imagine for a woman...

...They have no grilles, nor parlours, nor confidants to bring them news and letters, nor relations and friends to visit them. If a new one comes into this flock, she is so abashed that she cannot give any news of her country, relations, or circumstances to the others, nor even say what sort of animal a man is. No! no!! do not be astonished at what I tell you; they are not merely things I have heard, but what I have seen myself. They occur in every oriental country, where kings and nobles have brokers who are sent to Georgia (the home of the most beautiful women in Asia), Persia, Basra, the Red Sea, Arabia, and other eastern places. There they buy girls who, being destined for sale, have seen hardly anything of the outside world so that, when these dealers in human flesh deliver them to their masters, they are amazed and bewildered at being placed among so many women, who gently tame them, dress them in sumptuous clothes, and teach them what they have to do. The eunuchs, when shown to them at first, terrify these girls, who take them for monsters, and they are not far from wrong, as they have nothing manlike about them and have a frightful appearance, which can inspire only horror. I have noticed a strange thing about these monstrosities. The more hideous they are, the more they are sought after by these people, the reason being that they offer no temptation to the women whom they guard. They are mostly big scoundrels, whose very glance is capable of terrifying the bravest. Their colour is dreadful, and their faces ape-like, with thick lips. It is not, therefore, surprising that these monsters – I can call them nothing else – are respected and feared by the people of the country...

As I have just said, these eunuchs are shown to the young novice, who is told that these are men and that all others are like them. This is to make the women loathe the sight of men; so that afterwards, when the king, prince, or other person for whom they are destined, arrives, and they find that he is more pleasant to look at, they conceive deeper love and affection for him. They imagine he is the only man in the world with that face, and that every other man is like the eunuchs, as they are never allowed to see anyone else.

The condition, then, of these poor ladies is indeed most miserable – no liberty, no hope of getting out or hearing anything sweet or agreeable except from a single man, or from these unnatural monsters in charge. You can thus judge of the condition of these oriental women, and see how unhappy they are, and how they have no pleasure or contentment but that of showing their beauty only to one man! It would be a real punishment to our French *belles*, if

they were compelled to display their charms and attractions only to him to whom they are bound.

3. Women do not appear in public, Giovanni Careri¹⁰

The *Mahometan* Women do not appear in publick, except only the vulgar Sort, and the leud Ones. They cover their Heads, but the Hair hangs down behind in several Tresses. Many of them bore their Noses to wear a Gold Ring set with Stones.

E. PILGRIMAGES AND PIRS

1. A party of Fakirs, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier¹¹

The following day I had another experience, which was a meeting I had with a party of Fakirs, or Musalman Dervishes. I counted fifty-seven of them, of whom he who was their Chief or Superior had been master of the horse to Shah Jahangir, having left the court when Sultan Bulaki, his grandson, was strangled by order of Shahjahan, his uncle. There were four others who, under the Superior, were Chiefs of the band, and had been the first nobles of the court of the same Shahjahan. The only garment of these five Dervishes consisted of three or four ells of orange coloured cotton cloth, of which they made waistbands, one of the ends passing between the thighs and being tucked between the top of the waistband and the body of the Dervish, in order to cover what modesty requires should be concealed, both in front and behind. Each of them had also a skin of tiger upon the shoulders, which was tied under the chin. They had eight fine horses, saddled and bridled, led by hand before them, three of which had bridles of gold and saddles covered with plates of gold; and the five others had bridles of silver, and the saddles also covered with plates of silver, and a leopard's skin on each. The other Dervishes had for their sole garment a cord, which served as a waistband, to which was attached a small scrap of calico to cover, as in the case of the others, the parts which should be concealed. Their hair was bound in a tress about their heads, and made a kind of turban. They were all well armed, the majority with bows and arrows, some with muskets, and the remainder with short pikes, and a kind of weapon which we have not got in Europe. It is a sharp iron, made like the border of a plate which has no centre, and they pass eight or ten over the head, carrying them on the neck like a ruff. They withdraw these circles as they require to use them, and when they throw them with force at a man, as we make a plate to fly, they almost cut him in two. Each of them had also a sort of hunting horn, which he sounds, and makes a great noise with when he arrives anywhere, and also when he departs, and also a rake, or instrument of

iron, made something like a trowel. It is with this instrument, which the Indians generally carry in their journeys, that they level the places where they wish to halt, and some, collecting the dust in a heap, make use of it as a mattress and bolster in order to lie more comfortably. There were three of these Dervishes armed with long rapiers, which they had received, apparently, from some Englishman or Portuguese. Their baggage consisted of four boxes full of Arabic and Persian books and some cooking utensils, and they had ten or twelve oxen to carry those among the troop who were invalids. When these Dervishes arrived at the place where I was encamped with my carriage, having then with me fifty persons, both people of the country, whom one engages, as I have said, for travelling, as also my ordinary servants, the Chief or Superior of the troop, seeing me well accompanied, inquire who that Aga [lord] was; and then asked me to surrender to him the position I occupied, it being more commodious than any other about the place for camping with his Dervishes. As they informed me of the quality of this Chief and the four Dervishes who followed him, I was willing to do them a civility and to yield that which they asked with a good grace; and so I ceded the place to them, and took another which suited me as well. Immediately the place was watered with a quantity of water, and made smooth and level, and, as it was winter and was somewhat cold, they lighted two fires for the five principal Dervishes, who placed themselves between them in order to warm themselves both before and behind. During the same evening, after they had supped, the Governor of the town came to pay his respects to these principal Dervishes and during their sojourn in the place sent them rice and other things which they were accustomed to eat. When they arrive in any place the Superior sends some of them to beg in the towns and villages and whatever food they bring, which is give them out of charity, is immediately distributed to all in equal portions, each being particular to cook his own rice for himself. Whatever they have over is given every evening to the poor and they reserve nothing for the following day.

2. Pilgrims to the shrine of Khwaja Banda Nawaz at Gulbarga, Abbe Carre¹²

Thursday, 9 March. After having marched all the morning while it was cool, I was surprised to find the road full of processions of fakirs and Hindus, which walked in a different manner from one another. Those going the same way as myself proceeded very quickly, as if they were in a hurry to reach their destination, while on the contrary those who were returning to the direction from which I had come, stopped frequently, some on the banks of a well-wooded stream to feast on the fruit, milk, and cakes, which they carried with them, while others danced and made merry with all sorts of antics. The latter wore different marks: most of the men had a sort of cradle on their heads,

covered by little streamers of cocks' feathers, bells, and the like. The women and children all carried sticks which they lifted in the air, for the wind to turn whirligigs on them, made of cloth in all sorts of colours. They also carried plates of copper, little pots, and a sort of caldron on which they beat as on our Basque drums. Others, who had shaved their heads, carried their hair on the end of sticks, as if it was a very precious possession.

These and a thousand other follies gave me much amusement all day and I could not imagine the reason for these extravagances. We arrived that evening at Trapour, a large town full of Hindus, where there is a good trade in painted [printed] cloths, chintzes, calicoes, and other sorts of merchandise. Here were still more of the same sort of folk that I had met on the road. This led me to enquire of a local Hindu, who came to speak to me, what it all meant. 'Why,' he replied, "don't you know that these are holy families, who have come from a great distance to worship their saint called Mundun la Heb, whom they have at Calberga, a large village about two leagues from here [the shrine of Khwaja Banda Nawaz]. Every year there is a pilgrimage there by a great number of people such as you have seen. They are thus sanctified when they return home." 'But,' I said, "what is meant by all those instruments and streamers paraded by them?" 'Those,' he said, 'are souvenirs of their pilgrimage, which they keep all their lives, and which they regard with much confidence and devotion in any afflictions or maladies that may befall them. They put their children, when sick, into those little cradles you saw, and are quite content, whether the child lives or dies, because the cradle had been in the saint's house and had been sanctified by him. The little banners carried by the women are put on the head, or into the hands, of a woman in childbirth for her safe delivery. The copper pots and plates are for the food of anyone who is dangerously ill, and those who carry their hair on the end of sticks are, as you saw, quite young girls. They cut their hair, while virgins, to get it sanctified by the saint, and keep it carefully to show that they were very young at the time of this pilgrimage.' The Hindu also told me of some disgraceful things, of which I cannot speak. I was astonished at the stupidity, coarseness and foolishness of these poor people, who, however, seem quite happy and contented, though leading a life which perhaps is the lowest and most infamous and unhappy in the world. Some of them [fakirs] have no other pleasures but to cover their bodies with ashes, mud and filth, and all sorts of disgusting things, so that one can hardly imagine anything more hideous and horrible than this class of people. The most powerful of them, however, and those who are considered the wisest and the most judicious in this country, are esteemed and worshipped to such an extent that they are allowed to commit the most dreadful acts in a household, which is supposed to be sanctified thereby.

F. A MUSLIM VIEW OF HOW EUROPEAN NATIONS DIFFER, NICCOLAO MANUCCI¹³

When the sixth King of Gulkandah, Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah, was on the throne [1611-72], he had serving in his artillery men of four European nations. As these great rulers delight in acquainting themselves with persons' characters through the actions they perform, he tried an experiment.

He sent word for the slaughter of a stag, and it was divided into joints. He then ordered the distribution of the pieces, one to each nation. The Englishman, without waiting until they handed it to him, laid hold on the biggest piece there was, and carried it off. From this the king said this nation loves to take things at its own risk. The Dutchman held out a hand humbly, and accepted the share offered to him. From this it was inferred that this nation is one of merchants who through their humility have become rich. The Portuguese refused his portion, telling his servant he might take it. At this the king said that this nation was over-proud, and would rather die of hunger than abandon its dignity. The Frenchman, without waiting for orders, laid hold of his sword, stuck it into two pieces, and throwing out his chest, marched off. Judging from this, the king said this nation was a valorous one, most generous, and fond of good living. He ordered the Frenchman to be appointed the captain over his artillery.

Whatever remained over of the venison he ordered to be divided among his suite. These men, with the greatest respect and homage, took each a piece, making demonstrations as if they thought it a holy relic, and saying, 'May God increase the days and the wealth of his Majesty.' Of them he said: "These people are flatterers and hypocrites, saying pleasant things to me in my presence."



Chapter 16

Mughals In India

- A. Mughal Emperors
- B. Mughal polity
- C. Mughal thrones
- D. The Emperor's jewels
- E. Mughal princesses
- F. Mughal forces

A. MUGHAL EMPERORS

1. Akbar

(a) **Fr. Francis Henriques in a letter dated 6 April 1580 on Akbar¹**

He is very simple and courteous towards everyone, and always cheerful, but with a dignity such as one expects from a very great king. He is much loved as well as feared by his people, and is very hard-working...

(b) **Appearance of Akbar, Father Antonio Monserrate²**

This Prince [Akbar] is of a stature and a type of countenance well-fitted to his royal dignity, so that one could easily recognize, even at the first glance, that he is the King. He has broad shoulders, somewhat bandy legs well-suited for horsemanship, and a light-brown complexion. He carries his head bent towards the right shoulder. His forehead is broad and open, his eyes so bright and flashing that they seem like a sea shimmering in the sunlight. His eyelashes are very long, as also are those of the Sauromates, Sinae Niphones and most other north-Asiatic races. His eyebrows are not strongly marked. His nose is straight and small, though not insignificant. His nostrils are widely opened, as though in derision. Between the left nostril and the upper lip there is a mole. He shaves his beard, but wears a moustache like that of a Turkish youth who has not yet attained to manhood (for on reaching manhood they begin to affect

a beard). Contrary to the custom of his race he does not cut his hair; nor does he wear a hat, but a turban, into which he gathers up his hair. He does this, they say, as a concession to Indian usages, and to please his Indian subjects. He limps in his left leg, though indeed he has never received any injury there. His body is exceedingly well-built and is neither too thin nor too stout. He is sturdy, hearty and robust. When he laughs, his face becomes almost distorted. His expression is tranquil, serene and open, full also of dignity, and when he is angry, of awful majesty. When the priests first saw him he was thirty-eight years of age. It is hard to exaggerate how accessible he makes himself to all who wish audience of him. For he creates an opportunity almost every day for any of the common people or of the nobles to see him and converse with him; and he endeavors to show himself pleasant-spoken and affable rather than severe toward all who come to speak with him. It is very remarkable how great an effect this courtesy and affability has in attaching to him the minds of his subjects. For in spite of his very heterodox attitude towards the religion of Muhammad, and in spite also of the fact that Musalmans regard such an attitude as an unforgivable offence, Zelaldinus [Akbar] has not yet been assassinated. He has an acute insight, and shows much wise foresight both in avoiding dangers and in seizing favourable opportunities for carrying out his designs...

(c) Akbar's civility towards Jesuit Fathers, Antonio Monserrate³

Not to go into too many details, the Fathers frequently and freely admonished the King; but their conscientious readiness in doing this never lessened, still less put an end to, the kindly friendship of the King towards them. Nay more, when the King perceived that it was the sincerity of their hearts that led them to feel themselves free to correct him, he took it in such good part that he always seemed not only to favor them, but to heap honors upon them in his desire to show his affection towards them. For when they saluted him, which they did with uncovered heads, he answered with a nod and a bright smile. He did not allow them to keep their heads uncovered when they were in his presence. When a council was being held, or when he summoned them to his private audience-chamber for familiar conversation, he used to make them sit beside him. He shook hands with them cordially and familiarly. He frequently left the public audience-chamber to converse with them in private. Several times he paced up and down with his arm round Rudolf's shoulders. Once, when he was in camp, he desired another of the priests, in the middle of a crowd of his nobles, to help him fasten on his sword, which service the Father performed, amidst the envy and wonder of all the courtiers. He wished the priests to be sharers of his inmost thoughts, both in good and ill fortune – no common mark of love and kindness. He ordered his door-keepers to grant them entrance, whenever they wished, even into the inner courtyard of the palace, where only

the most distinguished nobles had the right of entrance. He sent them food from his own table – a mark of distinction which he is said never to have conferred upon anyone before. He visited one of the Fathers when he was ill, and greeted him in Portuguese as a sign of respect. There would have been no end to his gifts, had the Fathers not frequently told him that all they needed was food and clothing, and these of the most simple description. This reply pleased him so much that he repeated it publicly: and each month sent them as much money; under the guise of alms, as he thought would be sufficient for their daily expenses.

2. Jahangir

(a) Daily routine, William Hawkins⁴

Now here I meane to speake a little of his manners and customes in the court. First, in the morning about the breake of day he is at his beades, with his face turned to the west-ward. The manner of his praying, when he is in Agra, is in a private faire roome, upon a goodly jet stone [the famous black, slate throne still to be seen on the terrace of Agra fort], having onely a Persian lamb-skinne under him; having also some eight chaines of beads, every one of them containing foure hundred. The breads are of rich pearle, ballace rubyes, diamonds, rubyes, emeralds, lignum aloes, eshem, and corall. At the upper end of this jet stone the pictures of Our Lady and Christ are placed, graven in stone; so he turneth over his beads, and saith three thousand two hundred words, according to the number of his beads, and then his prayer is ended. After he hath done, he sheweth himselfe to the people, receiving their salames [salutations, Arabic *salam*] or good morrowes; unto whom multitudes resort every morning for this purpose. This done, hee sleepeth two houres more, and then dineth and passeth his time with his women, and at noone hee sheweth himselfe to the people againe, sitting till three of the clocke, viewing and seeing his pastimes and sports made by men, and fighting of many sorts of beasts, every day sundry kinds of pastimes. Then at three of the clocke, all the nobles in generall (that be in Agra and are well) resort unto the court, the King comming forth in open audience, sitting in his seat-royall, and every man standing in his degree before him, his chiefest sort of the nobles standing within a red rayle, and the rest without. They are all placed by his Lieutenant-Generall. This red rayle is three steppes higher then the place where the rest stand; and within this red rayle I was placed, amonst the chiefest of all. The rest are placed by officers, and they likewise be within another very spacious place rayled; and without that rayle stand all sorts of horsemen and souldiers that belong unto his captaines, and all other commers. At these rayles there are many doores kept by many porters, who have white rods to keepe men in order. In the middest of

the place, right before the King, standeth one of his sheriffes, together with his master hangman, who is accompanied with forty hangmen wearing on their heads a certaine quilted cap, different from all others, with an hatchet on their shoulders; and others with all sorts of whips being there, readie to doe what the King commandeth.

(b) Birthday celebrations, William Hawkins⁵

This emperor keepeth many feasts in the yeare, but two feasts especially may be nominated. The one is called Nourous [Nauroz], which is in honour of the New-Yeares day...The other feast [Jahangir kept both lunar and solar birthdays] is some foure moneths after, which is called the feast of his birthday. This day every man striveth who may be the richest in apparell and jewels. After many sports and pastimes performed in his palace, he goeth to his mothers house with all the better sort of his nobles, where every man presenteth a jewell unto his mother, according to his estate. After the bancket is ended, the King goeth into a very faire roome, where a ballance of beaten gold is hanged, with one scale emptie for him to sit in, the other scale being filled with divers things, that is to say, silver, gold, divers sorts of grains a little, and so of every kind of mettall a little, and with all sorts of precious stones some. In fine, he weigheth himselfe with these things, which the next day are given to the poore, and all may be valued to be worth ten thousand pounds. This day, before he goeth unto his mothers house, every man bringeth him his present, which is thought to be ten times more worth then that which he giveth to the poore. This done, every man departeth unto his home.

(c) Size of retinue, William Hawkins⁶

When hee rideth on progresse or hunting, the compasse of his tents may bee as much as the compasse of London and more; and I may say that of all sorts of people that follow the campe there are two hundred thousand, for hee is provided as for a citie. This king is thought to be the greatest emperor of the East for wealth, land, and force of men, as also for horses, elephants, camels, and dromedaries. As for elephants of his owne and of his nobles, there are fortie thousand, of which the one halfe are trayned elephants for the warre; and these elephants of all beasts are the most understanding.

(d) Interview with Jahangir, Sir Thomas Roe⁷

At the *durbar* I was led right before him, at the enterance of an outward rayle, wher mett mee two principall noble slaves to conduct mee nearer. I had required before my going leave to use the customes of my country; which was freeely granted, soe that I would performe them punctually. When I entered within the first rayle I made a reverence; entering in the inward rayle another;

and when I came under the King a theird. The place is a great court, whither resort all sorts of people. The King sitts in a little gallery over head; ambassadors, the great men and strangers of qualety within the inmost rayle under him, raysed from the ground, covered with canopies of velvet and silke, under foote layd with good carpetts; the meaner men representing gentry within the first rayle, the people without in a base court, but soe that all may see the King. This sitting out hath soe much affinitye with a theatre – the manner of the king in the gallery; the great men lifted on a stage as actors; the vulgar below gazing on – that an easy description will informe of the place and fashion. The King prevented [i.e. forestalled] my dull enterpreter, bidding me welcome as to the brother of my master. I delivered His Majesties lettre, translated; and after my commission, wheron hee looked curiously; after, my presents, which were well received. He asked some questions, and with a seeming care of my health, offering me his phisitions, and advising mee to keepe my house till I had recovered strength; and if in the interim I needed any thing, I should freely send to him, and obteyne my desiers.

(e) Jahangir's passion for hunting and the courage of Anira, Francisco Pelsaert⁸

...The chief business that interests the King, and about which he asks questions, is in what places there is good hunting, sport being his greatest delight. He rides out to hunt in the afternoon when the sun's heat has diminished, or when he wakes up; then he dresses and mounts a horse, or takes his seat on an elephant, not considering whether there are many or few attendants, or none at all, disregarding rain or wind, and he will not return till he has caught something, whether with falcons, or with leopards. Hunting with leopards is a remarkable form of sport. These brutes are so accustomed to men that they are as tame as cats, whether they are reared from cubs or tamed when full grown. They are very carefully fed, and each has two men to look after him, as well as a cart, in which they sit, or are driven out, daily. When they come to a place where they sight buck, the leopard is released from the cart, his keepers show him the direction, and he creeps on his four feet until he gets a view, taking cover behind trees, plants or thickets, until he sees that his first quick rush and spring will be successful, for that is his only chance. Most of the leopards are so well trained that they never, or very seldom, miss. Sometimes also, but very rarely, the king hunts buck with buck. For this form of sport, buck are so thoroughly tamed that when they have been set free, they will come back when called by their masters or keepers. When there is to be a hunt, a running noose, made of twisted sinews, is fastened on the tame buck's horns, and lies on his neck. When he sights a wild buck, he at once presents his horns to fight, and they push and struggle with their horns, until the tame buck feels that the noose has caught. Then he

springs back and pulls so that they hold each other fast by the horns, until the men, who are standing or lying near, run up and capture the wild buck alive. These fanciers of buck derive great enjoyment or pastime from them, for they set them constantly to fight for stakes; but some of the animals are so furious that they will not yield, though they struggle till they fall dead, and they understand how to attack with their horns as well as if they had learned the art of fencing.

When the King was a young man, he preferred shooting to all other forms of sport; and he was a splendid shot. When forests or jungles which contained pig, lions, tigers and other dangerous beasts were pointed out to him, he went to the place, and killing lions and tigers was prohibited, unless information had previously been given to the King, who risked his life in such sport. A remarkable instance of this occurred in my time. The King was out lion-shooting at Rupbas near Agra. For some time a lion had been doing great harm, killing men and cattle, and the King went there for this special purpose, surrounding his lair with large numbers of men; but no one, even if he was attacked, was allowed to kill the lion with any weapon except a dagger, even though he might be wounded. The King was inside the circle with his gun, accompanied only by one soldier, all his lords being scattered to drive the lion towards him, when suddenly the lion jumped out of a thicket and sprang at him. His companion, a Hindu or Rajput horseman named Anira, seeing that he could not safely use his gun, and that the King was in imminent danger of injury, caught the lion by the neck, and held on as if dead, and wrestled with him. Sometimes one was on top and sometimes the other, and in the struggle the lion tore all the flesh of his arms and legs, indeed nearly his whole body, so that the bare bones showed everywhere, although the King had wounded the lion several times with his sword. At last men ran up, attracted by the shouting, and rescued Anira still living. The King showed the greatest solicitude for his cure, and appointed him immediately to the rank of 500 horse, from which he has won promotion by his courage until he is now a noble of 3000 horse. There have doubtless been many similar stories or occurrences in other countries, but I want to emphasise the devotion displayed by such subordinates, who are ready to give their life for their master as if they were actuated by a passion of love.

(f) Jahangir's sons, Pietro Della Valle⁹

I know not whether by one or more Women, this King had four sons; the first is call'd *Sultan Chosrou*; the second, *Sultan Peruiz*; the third, *Sultan Chorrom*, now in rebellion, (to whom, when he return'd from a war which he had prosperously manag'd in *Dacan*, his father gave the title of *Sciahi Gihon*, which is interpreted, *King of the World*;) and the fourth, *Sultan Scehriar*, is yet a youth of small age. 'Tis possible others besides these have been born to him;

but, being dead, either in childhood, or long ago, there is no mention made of them at present.

(g) **Jahangir's treatment of Prince Khusro, Pietro Della Valle¹⁰**

...*Sultan Chosrou* the eldest, who was a Prince of much expectation, well-belov'd, and, as they say, a friend in particular of the Christians, being at the government of I know not what Country, rebell'd against his Father, under pretext that the Kingdom by right belonged unto him, because indeed King *Ekbar*, his Grand-father, at his death left it to him his nephew, being then born, and not to *Selim* the Father, who was his son, being displeas'd with his Son *Selim*, for that one time in his life he attempted to rebel against him. So easie are Insurrections amongst these Infidels, and so little faith can Fathers have in Sons, and they in their own Fathers. With this pretence *Sultan Chosrou* once rais'd a great Army against his Father, but, coming to a battle, he was routed, and forc'd to surrender himself freely to his Father; who, chiding him with words rather gentle than otherwise, ask'd him to what end he made these tumults, knowing well that he held and kept the whole Kingdom for him? Yet his deeds were sharper then his words; for in the first place he caused all the chief captains who had follow'd him in the war to be cruelly slain, and shewing them so slain to *Chosrou*, as in his return with Triumph he made him to pass along with himself in the middle of a long row of them barbarously mangled in several manners, and to behold some of his faithfulest confidents sew'd up in beast's skins, and be so left miserably to rot, he bade him see in what sort of people he had confided. Moreover he suffer'd him no longer to live freely, but committed him to the safe but honourable custody of certain Grandees of his court; and, which was worse, he caus'd his eyes to be sew'd up, as 'tis sometimes the custom here, to the end to deprive him of sight with out excaecating him, that so he might be unfit to cause any more commotions, which sewing, if it continue long, they say it wholly causes loss of sight; but after a while the Father caused this Prince's eyes to be unripp'd again, so that he was not blinded, but saw again, and it was only a temporal penance. Yet he was not delivered from prison, in which he liv'd so closely for two years that onely one person was suffer'd to be with him in the prison to serve him.

Nurmahal, who had apprehended that *Sultan Chosrou* would succeed his Father in the Kingdom, and desir'd to establish herself well, had frequently offer'd her Daughter to *Sultan Chosrou*; before she married her to *Sultan Scehriar*, but he, either for that he, had another Wife he lov'd sufficiently and would not wrong her, or because he scorn'd *Nurmahal*'s Daughter, would never consent: insomuch that whilst he was in prison and was told by reiterated messages that if he would marry *Nurmahal*'s Daughter he should be immediately set free, nevertheless he would not be brought to do it. His Wife on the contrary,

who lov'd him as well as he lov'd her, obtain'd to be the person allotted to serve him in the prison, and accordingly went thither, and liv'd with him so long as he was there, never ceasing to persuade him to marry *Nurmahal's* Daughter, that so he might be deliver'd from those troubles; that for her part she was content to live with him as a slave, provided she saw him free and in a good condition; but he could never be prevailed with. Thus he liv'd in prison with his faithful and dear Wife, till the malice of his persecutors and his Father's anger being wearied, about two years after he was taken out of Prison; but still held in a more honourable custody.

For these things, *Sultan Chosrou* remaind always much in the hatred of *Nurmahal*, who despairing to marry her Daughter to him, gave her to *Sultan Scehriar*, as is above said...

...Now touching the rebellion and the beginning of it. *Sultan Chorrom*, after the alliance that he made with *Asaf Chan*, so wrought by the means of his Father in law, and *Nurmahal*, his Aunt, that the King granted him the prisoner *Sultan Chosrou* into his own power, taking him out of the hands of him that kept him, and committing him to him to keep, yet with order to use him very well and have great care of him; and this because *Chorrom* refus'd to go to his Government, and to the war whereunto they sent him, unless he carried *Sultan Chosrou* with him, alledging that it was not convenient that he should be absent from the Court whilst *Sultan Chosrou*, his competitor and back-friend stay'd there. When he had got him into his hands he went to his Government, and there kept and treated him honourably a year or two: but afterwards, out of the intention which he always had to remove him out of his way to the succession of the Kingdom, he being absent (as some say) sent him poyson'd meats, appointing certain of his Captains who kept him to make him eat those meats by any means, fair or foul. The Captains punctually executed this order; but because *Sultan Chosrou*, becoming suspicious by their importunity to have him eat, would by no means taste of those meats, saying plainly that they intended to poyson him, the Captains, since there was no other remedy, and perhaps having order, leap'd all upon him, and he defended himself bravely, till at length having fell'd him to the ground they strangled him with a Bowstring. Others say that *Sultan Chorrom* himself slew him with his own hand publickly. Be it as it will, *Sultan Chosrou* dy'd of a violent death, and *Sultan Chorrom* was either by himself, or by mediation of others, the Murtherer.

In...the death of *Sultan Chosrou*, 'tis not onely suspected that there is some conspiracy of *Asaf Chan*, and *Nurmahal*, his ancient enemies in secret, but also that the King of Persia is of intelligence with them, who about the same time, or a little before, on his side made the warr of *Candahar*; in which the coldness which the *Moghul*, shew'd, proceeded, no doubt, either from his not being well inform'd, because perhaps *Nurmahal* and *Asaf Chan*, who were his chief

Counsellors, suffered not true intelligence to be signifi'd to him, or perhaps because the evil carriage of *Sultan Chorrom* hath hitherto necessitated him to stand in suspense. 'Tis true the last Advertisements from *Agra*, that the King, as I said, sent *Asaf Chan* to remove the treasure from thence, argue that the King still entrusts him, and consequently either that he is not in fault, or that his fault is not yet known. The doubt will be best clear'd by Time. *Sultan Chosrou* left a little Son behind him, whose name is *Sultan Bulachi*.

(h) Khusrau regarded a pir by Hindus and Muslims, Pietro Della Valle¹¹

...I should not, however, willingly pass over some of their holy men whom I have seen in their lifetime, particularly Sultan Khusru, the eldest son of the present King. He was murdered in the fort at Burhanpur, in February, 1621, at the instance of his younger brother Sultan Khurram, because he was thought to be next in succession to the throne; the murder was committed by a slave named Raza, who during the night strangled him with a *lungi*, or cloth, so as to raise the less suspicion of violence, and suggest a natural death. His body was brought to *Agra*, and taken thence to *Allahabad*, to be buried beside his mother. In the excitement or mourning which followed his death, for he was much beloved by the common people, although he was held a prisoner by his brother under the King's orders, some mendicants presumed to make a representation of a grave, at a spot where the bier or corpse had rested for a night on the journey, and announced to the common people that their God had in their sleep ordered them to do so, because Khusru was an innocent martyr; and consequently that everyone should come to make offerings at similar shrines every Thursday, and their prayers would certainly be granted, because Khusru occupied as great a position in heaven as he had held on earth. This devilish folly made such headway in various towns, such as Burhanpur, Sironj, *Agra*, and *Allahabad*, that both Hindus and Moslems in vast numbers went in procession every Thursday with flags, pipes, and drums to his worship; he was accepted as a true *Pir*, or saint; and they carried matters so far that they were foolish enough never to take an oath except by "the head of the Sultan," which was regarded as more binding than if they had sworn by God Himself. His father the King prohibited this practice, saying that Khusru was in his lifetime a sinful, nay, a rebellious son, and if he was really murdered by his brother, the guilt attached to the murderer, but did not operate to absolve Khusru, or to justify his being regarded as a saint. On this, Kasim Khan, the Governor of *Agra*, destroyed and obliterated the shrine, which had been built at great cost; the attendants or receivers of offerings were driven away; and everything that was found was confiscated for the King.

3. Nur Jahan, Pietro Della Valle¹²

He hath one Wife, or Queen, whom he esteems and favours above all other Women; and his whole Empire is govern'd at this day by her counsel. She was born in *India*, but of Persian Race, that is the Daughter of a Persian, who coming as many do into *India*, to the service of the *Moghol*, hapned in time to prove a very great man in this court, and, (if I mistake not) *Chan*, or Viceroy, of a Province. She was formerly Wife in *India* to another Persian Captain, who serv'd the *Moghol* too; but, after her Husband's death, a fair opportunity being offer'd, as it falls out many times to some handsome young Widows I know not how, *Sciah Selim* had notice of her, and became in love with her. He would have carried her into his *Haram*, or *Gynaceo*, and kept her there like one of his other Concubines, but the very cunning and ambitious Woman counterfeited great honesty to the King, and refus'd to go into his Palace; and, as I believe, also to comply with his desires, saying that she had been the Wife of an Honourable Captain and Daughter of an Honourable Father, and should never wrong her own Honour, nor that of her Father and Husband, and that to go to the King's *Haram*, and live like one of the other Female-slaves there, was unsuitable to her noble condition. Wherefore if his Majesty had a fancy to her he might take her for his lawful Wife, whereby his Honour would be not onely not injur'd, but highly enlarrg'd, and on this condition she was at his service. *Sciah Selim* so disdaign'd this haughty motion at first that he had almost resolv'd in despight to give her in Marriage to one of the Race which they call *Halalchor*, as much as to say *Eater-at-large*, that is to whom it is lawful to eat everything, and for this cause they are accounted the most despicable people in *India*. However the Woman persisting in her first resolution, intending rather to die than alter it, and Love returning to make impetuous assaults on the King's Heart; with the help, too, as some say, of Sorceries practis'd by her upon him, if there were any other charms (as I believe there were not) besides the conditions of the Woman, which became lovely to the King by sympathy; at length he determin'd to receive her for his lawful Wife and Queen above all the rest. And as such she commands and governs at this day in the King's *Haram* with supream authority; having cunningly remov'd out of the *Haram*, either by marriage, or other handsome wages, all the other Women who might give her any jealousie; and having also in the Court made many alterations by deposing, and displacing almost all the old Captains and Officers, and by advancing to dignities other new ones of her own creatures, and particularly those of her blood and alliance. This Queen is call'd at this day *Nurmahal*, which signifies, *Light of the Palace*; a Name, I believe, conferr'd on her by the King, when he made her Queen. She hath a Brother, who is still in great favour with the King, and of great power, and is the *Asaf Chan* whom I mention'd above, and one of whose Daughters is one of the Wives of *Sultan Chorrom* now in rebellion; whence some, not without

ground, suspect that the present rebellion of *Sultan Chorrom* is with some participation of *Asaf Chan*, and of *Nurmahal* herself; perhaps upon design that the Kingdom may fall to him after the death of the Father.

Sultan Scehriar hath also to Wife a Daughter of *Nurmahal* by her first Husband, for by the King she hath hitherto no Children. Wherein appears the prudence of this Woman, who hath so well establish'd herself with alliances in the Royal Family.

4. Emperor Shahjahan prisoner in his palace, Jean de Thevenot¹³

Now after all the Air of Agra is very incommodious [unpleasant] in the Summer-time, and it is very likely that the excessive heat which scorches the Sands that environ this Town, was one of the chief causes which made King *Cha-Gehan* change the Climate, and chuse to live at *Dehly*. Little thought this Prince that one day he would be forced to live at *Agra*, what aversion soever he had to it, and far less still, that he should be Prisoner there in his own Palace, and so end his days in affliction and-trouble. That misfortune though befel him, and *Auran-Zeb* his third Son, was the cause of it, who having got the better of his Brothers, both by cunning and force, made sure of the Kings Person and Treasures, by means of Soldiers whom he craftily slipt [introduced] into the Palace, and under whose Custody the King was kept till he died.

So soon as *Auran-Zeb* knew that his Father was in his Power, he made himself be proclaimed King: He held his Court at *Dehly*, and no party was made for the unfortunate King, though many had been raised by his bounty and liberalities. From that time forward *Auran-Zeb* Reigned without trouble; and the King his Father dying in Prison about the end of the year One thousand six hundred sixty six [22 January 1666], he enjoyed at ease the Empire, and that so famous Throne of the *Moguls*; which he had left in the Prisoners appartement to divert him with. He added to the precious Stones that were set about it, those of the Princes his Brothers, and particularly the Jewels of *Begum-Saheb* his Sister [*Jahanara Begum*]), who died after her Father; and whose death (as it was said,) was hastened by Poison. And in fine, he became absolute Master of all, after he had overcome and put to death *Dara-Cha* his Eldest Brother, whom *Cha-Gehan* had designed for the Crown. That King is interred on the other side of the River, in a Monument which he began, but is not finished [he is in fact buried alongside *Mumtaz Mahal*].

5. Execution of Prince Dara on orders of Aurangzeb, Niccolao Manucci¹⁴

Those executioners of tyranny and barbarity arrived at the garden of Khizrabad at seven O'clock at night. They entered the room where the afflicted prince was walking up and down repeating the words referred to: *Muhammad*

mara mi-kushad, ibn-ullah mara jan mi-bakhshad [Muhammad kills me, and the Son of God gives me life; interpreted as Dara's desire to convert to Christianity at this moment]. They laid hands upon him, and, showing neither compassion nor respect, flung him to the ground and cut off his head. Leaving the body to welter in its blood, they carried the head with all haste to Aurangzeb's presence. It was then eight O'clock at night, and he was in the garden of the palace. Such was the tragic and lamentable fate meted out to the unhappy prince Dara, first-born and heir to the Mogul empire, loved and cherished by his father, Shahjahan, and respected by the people. Neither his good qualities nor his rank sufficed to deliver him from the evil designs of Aurangzeb, nor from the ill-effects of his own bad qualities.

When Aurangzeb learnt that the head of Dara had arrived, he ordered it to be brought to him in the garden on a dish, with the face cleaned of the blood on the surface and a turban on the head. He called for lights to be brought so that he might see the mark borne by the prince on his forehead, and might make sure that it was the head of Dara, and not that of another person. After he had satisfied himself, he told them to put it on the ground, and gave it three thrusts in the face with the sword he carried by way of staff, saying, "Behold the face of a would be king and emperor of all the Mogul realms. Take him out of my sight."

He gave secret orders to place it in a box, to be sent by runners to the eunuch Atbar can [Iti'bar Khan], who had charge of Shahjahan's prison, with orders to deliver it to him when seated at table. It was to be offered in his name as a *plat*...

On receipt of Aurangzeb's orders, Iti'bar Khan, to comply with them, waited until the hour when Shahjahan had sat down to dinner. When he had begun to eat, Iti'bar Khan entered with the box and laid it before the unhappy father, saying: "King Aurangzeb, your son, sends this *plat* to your majesty, to let him see that he does not forget him." The old emperor said: "Blessed be God that my son still remembers me". The box having been placed on the table, he ordered it with great eagerness to be opened. Suddenly, on withdrawing the lid, he discovered the face of Prince Dara. Horrified, he uttered one cry and fell on his hands and face upon the table, and, striking against the golden vessels, broke some of his teeth and lay there apparently lifeless.

6. Aurangzeb

(a) Birthday celebrations at Shahjahanabad, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier¹⁵

After finishing all my business with the Emperor, when I went to take leave of His Majesty on the first of November 1665, he told me he was unwilling that

I should depart without having witnessed his fete, which was then at hand, and that afterwards he would give orders that all his jewels should be shown to me. I accepted, as in duty bound, the honour he conferred on me; and thus I was a spectator of this grand festival, which commenced on the fourth of November and lasted five days. It is on the anniversary of the Emperor's birthday that they are in the habit of weighing him and if he should weigh more than in the preceding year, the rejoicing is so much the greater. When he has been weighed, he seats himself on the richest of the thrones, of which I shall speak presently, and then all the nobility of the kingdom come to salute him and offer presents. The ladies of the court also send gifts and he receives others from the Governors of Provinces and other exalted personages. In diamonds, rubies, emeralds, pearls, gold and silver, as well as rich carpets, brocades of gold and silver, and other stuffs, elephants, camels, and horses, the Emperor receives in presents on this day to the value of more than 30,000,000 livres.

(b) Severe life-style, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier¹⁶

Since Aurangzeb, who reigns at present, has occupied the throne of the Moguls, which he usurped from his father and brothers, he has imposed on himself, as I have said, a severe form of penance, and eats nothing which has enjoyed life. As he lives upon vegetables and sweetmeats only, he has become thin and meagre, to which the great fasts which he keeps have contributed. During the whole of the duration of the comet of the year – [this comet was first seen in Europe and lasted four weeks], which appeared very large in India, where I then was, Aurangzeb drank only a little water and ate a small quantity of millet bread; this so much affected his health that he nearly died, for besides this he slept on the ground, with only a tiger's skin over him, and since that time has never enjoyed perfect health.

I remember seeing the Emperor drink upon three different occasions while seated on his throne. He had brought to him on a golden saucer, enriched with diamonds, rubies and emeralds, a large cup of rock-crystal, all round and smooth, the cover of which was of gold, with the same decoration as the saucer. As a rule no one sees the Emperor eat except his womenkind and eunuchs, and it is very rarely that he goes to dine at the house of any of his subjects, whether it belongs to a Prince or to one of his own relatives...

(c) Size of royal guard accompanying Emperor, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier¹⁷

When the Emperor goes to the mosque in his pallankeen one of his sons follows on horseback, and all the Princes and officers of the household on foot. Those who are Musalmans wait for him upon the top of the steps to the mosque, and when he comes out they precede him to the gate of the palace. Eight

elephants march in front of him, four carrying two men each, one to guide the elephant, and the other, seated on its back, bearing a standard attached to a hand pike. Each of the four other elephants carries a seat or kind of throne on its back [howdah], one of which is square, another round, one covered, and another closed with glass of many kinds. When the Emperor goes out he has generally 500 or 600 men with him for his bodyguard, each man armed with a kind of hand pike. Fireworks are attached to the iron blade; these consist of two rockets crossed, each of the thickness of the arm, and a foot in length; when ignited they will carry the hand pike 500 yards. The Emperor is also followed by 300 or 400 matchlock men, who are timid and unskilful in firing, and a number of cavalry of no greater merit. One hundred of our European soldiers would scarcely have any difficulty in vanquishing 1,000 of these Indian soldiers; but it is true, on the other hand, that they would have much difficulty in accustoming themselves to such an abstemious life.

Meagre diet of royal army

For the horseman as well as the infantry soldier supports himself with a little flour kneaded with water and black sugar, of which they make small balls; and in the evening, whenever they have the necessaries, they make khichari, which consists of rice cooked with a grain of the above name in water with a little salt. When eating it they first dip the ends of their fingers in melted butter, for such is the ordinary food of both soldiers and poor people...

(d) Aurangzeb on hunt, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier¹⁸

Once a fortnight the Emperor goes out to hunt, and while *en route*, and also while the chase lasts, he is always mounted on his elephant. All the animals which he shoots, are driven within musket range of his elephant. Ordinarily these are lions, tigers, deer, and gazelles – because, as for wild boars, he as a good Musalman does not wish to see them.

(e) Aurangzeb in old age, still eager for war, Niccolao Manucci¹⁹

This old king [Aurangzeb] still shows his eagerness for war by the gestures he uses on the march. While seated in his palanquin, he unsheathes his sword, makes cuts in the air, first one way, then the other, and, smiling all the while, polishes it with a cloth, then returns it to its scabbard. He does the same with his bow, to show that he can still let fly an arrow. But most of the time he sits doubled up, his head drooping so much that his beard lies on his chest, and it looks to you as if it grew out of his throat. When his officers submit any petition, or make report to him of any occurrence, he gently raises his head and straightens his back. He gives them such an answer as to leave no opening for reply, and still looks after his army in the minutest particulars.

But these who are at a distance pay very little attention to his orders. They make excuses, they raise difficulties; and under cover of these pretexts, and by giving huge sums to the officials at court, they do just as they like. If he would only abandon his mock saint-hood, and behead a few of those in his empire, there would not be so much disorder, and he would be better obeyed. It is from this cause that they countermine him by working on his various scruples.

(f) Keeps up appearance of devoutness, Niccolao Manucci²⁰

He continues to show himself devout and abstinent. During the fast he says his prayers for twenty-four hours on end, his head on the ground, eating nothing, and never moving his body. The queen, Uditpuri, beholding all this make-believe, roused him, and told him he had been so many hours at his prayers that it was necessary for his majesty to eat something. Upon this he raised his head and sharply reproved the queen for having withdrawn him from the delights he was enjoying, by which he suggested that he had entered into heavenly glory, and now despised earthly enjoyments.

From time to time he plunges into similar fits of devotion, and among the ignorant common people the belief in his false saintship goes on increasing...

Miseries of camp life

...his army is a filthy, dirty place, more like a scourge sent by God, judging by the daily mortality of men and animals. The common people are dealt with as mere animals after they are dead. Their bodies are searched to see if they have any money, and after the feet have been tied together with a rope, they are dragged out of the camp and thrown into the first hole to be found. The same is done to the animals, and both serve as aliment for wolves, dogs, and crows.

A great stench is caused in this way, and no measures are taken to get rid of this filthiness. Many a time, under such circumstances, I have found myself unable to bear the evil smell, and been forced to urge my horse to the gallop to get away from it, holding my nose as I did so. Sometimes I was even compelled to vomit, human nature being unable to bear such a grievous thing. The flies are in such numbers that there is no means of eating your food in peace.

Travellers setting out from this army are not protected against the attacks of the Mahrattahs and other robbers; and when you are delivered from this peril, you fall into the hands of the *juncaneiros* (junkaneers, customs officers), or publicans. These take what they please unjustly and by force, and if they know that anyone has money on him, they rob him, cut his throat, and bury him. This is the condition into which the saintly rule of this king has fallen.

Royal claimants to the throne

The existing pretenders to this empire number seventeen princes of full

age. First there are the sons of the king, already old men, as can be verified from their ages previously given. Then his grandsons are men with grey beards, some of them already forty-five or forty-six years of age, some younger. There are great grandsons, some of whom have reached twenty-four or twenty-seven years. I say nothing of great-great-grandsons, or the women of the blood-royal belonging to his family. What an event to behold will be the tragedy following the death of this old man! One only of these princes can succeed, and thereby protect his family; the rest of them will be decapitated, or lose their lives in various other ways. It will be a much worse tragedy than that which happened at the end of King Shahjahan's reign.

(g) Aurangzeb writes to the rebel Prince Akbar, criticises Rajputs, Niccolao Manucci²¹

Although the King Aurangzeb had occupation enough in fighting the Mahrattahs, in conquering different rajahs, and many other enterprises, he never overlooked the question of getting his son Sultan Akbar into his power. This son, then in Persia, was invited back by many letters, none of which had any effect. At last, in the year 1689, he wrote him one in the most loving terms. It was also the last one sent; its terms were as follows:

'My beloved son, light of my eyes, part of my heart, Akbar! I write to you, swearing upon the word of the Ruler over kings, and be God my witness, that I esteem and love you more than my other sons. You were ever my solace and consolation, and lightened my afflictions when you were present. Now that you are so far away, I feel their whole weight, and must endure them. You became disobedient, and were led away by the Rajputs, those demons in human form; thus you lost the favour of Heaven, and were abandoned by it. What can I do? and what remedy can I offer you for the troubles under which you are now suffering? When I think on these things, I continue in travail and great sorrow, so that I have lost the desire for longer life. I endure the greatest grief at seeing you so far from this realm, deprived of your princely title, removed from power, and stripped of your dignities in the State. Because I love you deeply, I weep bitterly over your wretched condition. Yet did you disregard your youth and loyalty to your family, and are forced to live thus far separated from wives, sons, and daughters. From your self-will you fell a prisoner into the hands of those demoniac Rajputs. They treated you like a ball, struck first by one side and hurled back by the other. Thus were you compelled to take refuge first in one place, then in another, In spite of all these things, although you have been guilty of such heavy crimes, yet, impelled by the love I bear you, I have no desire to inflict farther punishment'.

After these words followed two verses, which continued the letter; their sense was as follows:

'In spite of a son being only a little ashes,
Yet is he a salve to the suffering eyes of parents.'

'Now, Fortune seeks to favour you. If you have repented of your errors you can come to my Presence, and advance to meet me sure that your sins will be remitted; that I shall not forget to favour you and aggrandize you even in a manner that will exceed your wildest dreams of greatness. Thus will you be recompensed for the sufferings and the labours you have undergone.'

'This invitation is not given solely from a desire to see you present here, but to obviate your being, as you are now, ruined, solitary, lost, and dishonored.'

'I do not speak of the Rajah Jaswant Singh, who was the chief of all the Rajputs and the follower of Dara. O son! Trust not in such nor heed their words, for they will sell you falsified goods yielding you no profit, and in the end causing nothing but regret. Understand, and accept it as infallible, that what I tell you will be for your good, and points out the only right road. Retain it, therefore, in memory, for never again shall I write to you.'

(h) Prince Akbar replies, Niccolao Manucci²²

'I state, being the meanest among your Majesty's sons, I, Akbar in reverent obeisance and humility and respect, that I have received your Majesty's letter. A thousand times do I give thanks for the honours, kindnesses, and favours that your Majesty metes out to me. Thereby have I received great joy and much consolation. The letter arrived at an auspicious moment, and I took it with all the humbleness and obedient duty that is owing to your Majesty's high dignity. Its mere receipt has brought me comfort. I am now informed as to your orders, and continue to be very joyful at seeing and reading again and again all that your pen has condescended to write to me, and the instruction thereby imparted. I reply on all the heads, which I record with brevity, as is fitting for one who adheres to truth and justice.'

'Your Majesty writes to me that you love me, although I became disobedient, and was deprived of rank and dignity because I had placed myself in prison [among the Rajputs]. My lord, just as the son ought to be the obedient servant of his father who has conceived him, and ought to follow rightful orders as his father dictates, so must a father give reasonable commands in order that the son may find himself under a necessity to obey. Thanks be to God! I have not been wanting in due respect and reverence, nor in any way have I failed in my obedience as a son. I acknowledge the great grace and favour of your Majesty; so grateful am I that I cannot display it sufficiently. In fact, of all that you promise me, were there only to be granted a small fraction, or even of that small fraction only the minutest particle, I should rest content.'

'As it seems to me, since I was the youngest you ought to have shown me love and done me favour greater than that accorded to your other sons. However,

I do not live devoid of hope, knowing you to be a tender-hearted father. Your Majesty has acted against the world's rule. You favoured your other sons; me you outraged. To your eldest son [Prince Muazzam, given the title Shah Alam] you conceded the title of king, and in addition have declared him heir to the throne. In what system of justice or from what tribunal was there ever such a decision heard of? All the sons ought to share in the paternal estate. Your Majesty, to the very contrary of this, has raised one to greatness, has enriched another and overweighed him with titles, while the others are forsaken and in poverty. But where is the code and system in which such things can be discovered? O veritable king of truth, in thy equity all are equal! His mode of conduct is clear, and notified to all the world, and His works are registered in His scriptures. God will assign greatness to him who the most pleases Him.

'Your Majesty was my teacher, who showed me the road I ought to tread, and your example was imitated and followed by all others. And who is he who can decry my acts, when I followed the road that my father had taught me to go? Our first father, Adam, forfeited the favour of Heaven for two grains of corn, while I have been sent to perdition for one grain alone. But I should be a fool if I did not know how to sell it profitably.'

'Bygone kings, such as the great Taimur-i-lang and King Shahjahan, went through and endured great labours, and to the end continued to be powerful and happy. He who refuses to undergo hardships can never become great or obtain the favour of Heaven or live in prosperity. Flowers do not exist without thorns, nor mountains without serpents.'

[Here follow two verses to this effect:]

'If Fortune means to favour me,
A sharp sword will not wound me.'

'As is usual, fatigue is followed by repose; therefore I hope by the grace of God to be thus favoured, and freed from the hardships and troubles that at present I am suffering. In regard to your remark about Jaswant, who was the greatest of the Rajputs and a friend of Dara, as all the world knows, you advise me not to trust such people. To this I reply that your Majesty says well; but your Highness should be careful, to speak no further thereof. For it is quite certain that Dara was not loved by that tribe; he was their enemy. Had he retained their friendship he would not have been defeated. King Shahjahan was fond of that tribe, being (as he was) related to them, and by their weapons made himself King of Hindustan.'

'By the help of these people the great Mahabat Khan made a prisoner of King Jahangir, and chastised his enemies. Let your Majesty remember what Rajputs, men of this tribe, have done in your very presence at the Court of Dihli. They fought with such bravery that their deeds have been entered in the world's chronicles. In ancient story no record of equal valour can be anywhere

discovered. Jaswant was the man who in the battle against Shah Shuja was guilty of such a defect that he merited to be rigorously punished instead of being pardoned. Yet your Majesty passed this over because you not only knew the man, but feared him. It is he who, being corrupted and deceived by your Majesty's pretences and magic arts, omitted to espouse the cause of Dara. If he had taken that side your Majesty would not at this day be reigning; for it was he (Jaswant) who won you the victory.

'Who can doubt that these Rajputs deserve to be praised for their fidelity? This right they earned when, although deprived of their chieftain, they took the little children of the deceased rajah under their charge, and fighting desperately, offered up their lives. Three hundred of their horsemen held out for twelve hours continuously against all the forces at your court, killing many famed and veteran warriors, finally retreating in safety. They are, then, worthy of praise, this tribe, as much for their fidelity as for their valour.

'When the kings of Hindustan, its princes and potentates, or the chief generals, desired to enrol soldiers, for each one whom they required a hundred offered themselves. At the present time it takes you three years to recruit a few men. From what does this difficulty proceed, and what fact could tell you more? Yet from the first day in your Majesty's reign all are lords, governors, and generals, but none have any loyalty; the soldiers are impoverished and unprovided with arms, famous writers produce nothing and have no employment, the traders are assassinated or deprived of their goods, and the people destroyed. The lands of the Dakhin, which are so vast, and once seemed like a terrestrial Paradise, are nowadays uncultivated, unproductive, and uninhabited.

'What can I say about the kingdom of Bijapur, once the jewel of India, and now entirely undone? The city of Aurangabad, founded by your Majesty, and the chief place in that province, was devastated by the enemy because it bore your name, and is now like a little quicksilver that disappears suddenly, being at this day no more than a mound of earth.

'The cause of this ruin was the tax imposed on the Hindus, which was converted into a profit to the enemy, who have done so much harm to the population, and subjected them to such hardships and tyrannies, worrying them on all sides, until the whole land has been reduced to desolation.

'Upon what subject can I say anything good of your Majesty? The ancient and noble families are all extinct. The government, the rules, the counsels and advice needed for the welfare of the State, are all in the hands of low, ill-bred persons, such as weavers, washermen, barbers, carpenters, blacksmiths, tailors, and such-like. Your Majesty puts your trust in hypocrites wearing huge turbans, and accepted as theologians because they carry a Quran under the arm and hold a chaplet in their hand. Yet are these men nothing but snares of Hell, with their

hypocritical exterior of piety. They give false counsel, and by their appearance mislead the world. From this class of riffraff your Majesty has selected your privy councillors and courtiers. These are your guardian angels, your Gabriel, Michael the Angel, Raphael, and Michael the Archangel, men who are dealers in adulterated wares. In public audience they produce a feather or a straw, which to your Majesty they can make appear as a mighty mountain.'

'...Seeing the destruction of this kingdom, and your inability even then to rule it, I felt forced to withdraw in deep dejection at the sight of such disorders, in order to restore my equanimity and live in peace, with the decorum befitting the refinement of my habits. May your Majesty live long! Quit the government, and I will rule the kingdom as it ought to be done. Journey to Mecca, and when you have done so all men will tell of your greatness. During all these years you have ruled in grandeur and done what you pleased. Now that the shadows fall it is time to retire and begin to care for your soul. Your Majesty urges me to return to the Presence. Willingly would I do so if my youth did not inspire me with some fear. However, if your Majesty were only at the head of a small company, I, as the least among your sons, would come and throw myself at your feet and obey you in every particular.

'I refrain from writing here any more, as I might, not wishing to weary you: and may the sun ever shine on your Majesty along with your sons.'

B. MUGHAL POLITY

1. Justice in Jahangir's India, Francisco Pelsaert²³

As regards the laws, they are scarcely observed at all, for the administration is absolutely autocratic, but there are books of law, which are in charge of their lawyers, the Kazis. Their laws contain such provisions as hand for hand, eye for eye, tooth for tooth; but who will excommunicate the Pope? And who would dare to ask a Governor "Why do you rule us this way or that way? Our Law orders thus." The facts are very different, although in every city there is a kachhahri, or royal court of justice, where the Governor, the Diwan, the Bakhshi, the Kotwal, the Kazi, and other officers sit together daily, or four days in the week. Here all disputes are disposed of, but not until avarice has had its share. All capital cases, such as thefts, murders, or crimes are finally disposed of by the Governor, if the criminals are poor and unable to pay, and the sweepers drag them out to execution with very little ceremony. In the case of other offences the criminals are seldom or never executed; their property is merely confiscated for the Governor and Kotwal. Ordinary questions of divorce, quarrels, fights, threats, and the like, are in the hands of the Kotwal and the Kazi. One must indeed be sorry for the man who has to come to judgment before these

godless 'unjudges'; their eyes are bleared with greed, their mouths gape like wolves for covetousness, and their bellies hunger for the bread of the poor; everyone stands with hands open to receive, for no mercy or compassion can be had except on payment of cash. This fault should not be attributed to judges or officers alone, for the evil is a universal plague; from the least to the greatest, right up to the King himself, everyone is infected with insatiable greed, so that if one has any business to transact with Governors or in palaces, he must not set about it without "the vision of angels", for without presents he need expect very little answer to his petitions. Our honourable employers need not deign to be surprised at this, for it is the custom of the country.

2. Writ of Jahangir limited, Francisco Pelsaert²⁴

...it is important to recognise also that he is to be regarded as King of the plains or the open roads only; for in many places you can travel only with a strong body of men, or on payment of heavy tolls to rebels. The whole country is enclosed and broken up by many mountains, and the people who live in, on, or beyond, the mountains know nothing of any king, or of Jahangir; they recognise only their Rajas, who are very numerous, and to whom the country is apportioned in many small fragments by old tradition. Jahangir, whose name implies that he grasps the whole world, must therefore be regarded as ruling no more than half the dominions which he claims, since there are nearly as many rebels as subjects. Taking the chief cities for example, at Surat the forces of Raja Piepell [not identified] come pillaging up to, or inside, the city, murdering the people, and burning the villages; and in the same way, near Ahmadabad, Burhanpur, Agra, Delhi, Lahore, and many other cities, thieves, and robbers come in force by night or day like open enemies. The Governors are usually bribed by the thieves to remain inactive, for avarice dominates manly honour, and, instead of maintaining troops, they fill and adorn their *mahals* with beautiful women, and seem to have the pleasure-house of the whole world within their walls.

3. The Great Mughal a foreigner in India, Francois Bernier²⁵

It is material to remark that the *Great Mogol* is a Mahometan, of the sect of the *Sounnys*, who, believing with the Turks that Osman was the true successor of *Mahomet*, are distinguished by the name of *Osmanlys*. The majority of his courtiers, however, being Persians, are of the party known by the appellation of *Chias*, believers in the real succession of *Aly*. Moreover the Great Mogol is a foreigner in *Hindoustan*, a descendant of *Tamerlan*, chief of those Mogols from Tartary who, about the year 1401, overran and conquered the *Indies*. Consequently he finds himself in an hostile country, or nearly so; a country containing hundreds of *Gentiles* to one *Mogol*, or even to one *Mahometan*. To

maintain himself in such a country, in the midst of domestic and powerful enemies, and to be always prepared against any hostile movement on the side of *Persia* or *Usbec*, he is under the necessity of keeping up numerous armies, even in the time of peace. These armies are composed either of natives, such as *Ragipous* and *Patans*, or of genuine *Mogols* and people who, though less esteemed, are called *Mogols* because white men, foreigners, and *Mahometans*. The court itself does not now consist, as originally, of real *Mogols*; but is a medley of *Usbecs*, *Persians*, *Arabs*, and *Turks*, or descendants from all these people; known, as I said before, by the general appellation of *Mogols*. It should be added, however, that children of the third and fourth generation, who have the brown complexion, and the languid manner of this country of their nativity, are held in much less respect than new comers, and are seldom invested with official situations: they consider themselves happy, if permitted to serve as private soldiers in the infantry of cavalry.

4. Communications in Mughal India, Francisco Pelsaert²⁶

The King's letters or farmans to the chief lords or princes are transmitted with incredible speed, because royal runners are posted in the villages 4 or 5 kos apart, taking their turns of duty throughout the day and the night, and they take over a letter immediately on its arrival, run with it to the next village in a breath, and hand it over to another messenger. So the letter goes steadily on, and will travel 80 kos between night and day. Further the King has pigeons kept everywhere, to carry letters in time of need or great urgency. No doubt this is done at home also in the case of sieges, but only for short distances, whereas this King possesses the largest area of all the kingdoms of the world. The length of it from Surat northwards to Kashmir is 1100 kos, or 800 [Holland] miles, taking 1½ kos to the mile. The stages are: Surat to Burhanpur, 150 kos; thence to Agra, 350 k.; Agra to Lahore, 300 k.; and from Lahore to Kashmir 300 k. The route by Ahmadabad is 50 kos nearer. Towards the North-West, the distance from Lahore, by Multan, to Kandahar is 600 k. On the East, it is 1000 k. from Agra to the sea coast through Purop, Bengal, and Orissa. In the West, Kabul is 300 k. from Lahore; and in the South West, the kingdom extends to Tatta, Sind and Bakkar...

C. MUGHAL THRONES

The Peacock Throne, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier²⁷

It should be stated that the Great Mogul has seven magnificent thrones, one wholly covered with diamonds, the others with rubies, emeralds, or pearls. The principal throne, which is placed in the hall of the first court; resembles in

form and size our camp beds; that is to say, it is about 6 feet long and 4 wide. Upon the four feet, which are very massive, and from 20 to 25 inches high, are fixed the four bars which support the base of the throne, and upon these bars are ranged twelve columns, which sustain the canopy on three sides, that which faces the court being open. Both the feet and the bars, which are more than 18 inches long, are covered with gold inlaid and enriched with numerous diamonds, rubies, and emeralds. In the middle of each bar there is a large balass ruby [from a locality on the banks of the Shignan, a tributary of the Oxus], cut en cabochon, with four emeralds round it, forming a square cross. Next in succession, from one side to the other along the length of the bars there are similar crosses, arranged so that in one the ruby is in the middle of four emeralds, and in another the emerald is in the middle and four balass rubies surround it. The emeralds are table-cut, and the intervals between the rubies and emeralds are covered with diamonds, the largest of which do not exceed 10 to 12 carats in weight, all showy stones, but very flat. There are also in some parts pearls set in gold, and upon one of the longer sides of the throne there are four steps to ascend it. Of the three cushions or pillows which are upon the throne, that which is placed behind the Emperor's back, is large and round like one of our bolsters, and the two others placed at his sides are flat. Moreover, a sword, a mace, a round shield, a bow and quiver with arrows, are suspended from this throne, and all these weapons, as also the cushions and steps, both of this throne and of the other six, are covered over with stones which match those with which each of the thrones respectively is enriched.

I counted the large balass rubies on the great throne, and there are about 108, all cabochons, the least of which weighs 100 carats, but there are some which weigh apparently 200 and more. As for the emeralds, there are plenty of good colour, but they have many flaws; the largest may weigh 60 carats, and the least 30 carats. I counted about 116; thus there are more emeralds than rubies.

The underside of the canopy is covered with diamonds and pearls, with a fringe of pearls all round, and above the canopy, which is a quadrangular-shaped dome, there is a peacock with elevated tail made of blue sapphires and other coloured stones, the body of gold inlaid with precious stones, having a large ruby in front of the breast, whence hangs a pear-shaped pearl of 50 carats or thereabouts, and of a somewhat yellow water. On both sides of the peacock there is a large bouquet of the same height as the bird, consisting of many kinds of flowers made of gold inlaid with precious stones. On the side of the throne opposite the court there is a jewel consisting of a diamond of from 80 to 90 carats weight, with rubies and emeralds round it, and when the Emperor is seated he has this jewel in full view. But in my opinion the most costly point about this magnificent throne is that the twelve columns supporting the canopy are surrounded with beautiful rows of pearls, which are round and of fine water,

and weigh from 6 to 10 carats each, At 4 feet distance from the throne two umbrellas are fixed, on either side, the sticks of which for 7 or 8 feet in height are covered with diamonds, rubies, and pearls. These umbrellas are of red velvet, and embroidered and fringed all round with pearls.

This is what I have been able to observe regarding this famous throne, commenced by Tamerlane and completed by Shahjahan; and those who keep the accounts of the King's jewels, and of the cost of this great work, have assured me that it amounts to 107,000 lakhs [it should be 1070 lakhs] of rupees which amount to 160,500,000 livres of our money.

Behind this grand and magnificent throne a smaller one stands, in the form of a bathing-tub. It is of oval shape, about 7 feet in length and 5 in breadth, and the outside is covered with diamonds and pearls, but it has no canopy...

The other five thrones are arranged in a superb hall in another court, and are covered with diamonds, without any coloured stones. I shall not give a minute description of them for fear of wearying the reader, not forgetting that one may become disgusted with the most beautiful things when they are too often before the eyes. These five thrones are disposed in such a manner that they from a cross, four making a square, the fifth being in the middle, but somewhat nearer to the two which are placed furthest away from the people.

D. THE EMPERORS' JEWELS

1. Jahangir's jewels and wealth, William Hawkins²⁸

He is exceeding rich in diamants and all other precious stones, and usually weareth every day a faire diamant of great price; and that which he weareth this day, till his time be come about to weare it againe he weareth not the same; that is to say, all his faire jewels are divided into a certaine quantitie or proportion to weare every day. He also weareth a chaine of pearle, very faire and great, and another chaine of emeralds and ballace rubies. Hee hath another jewell that commeth round abouth his turbant full of faire daimants and rubies. It is not much to bee wondered that he is so rich in jewels and in gold and silver, when he hath heaped together the treasure and jewels of so many kings as his forefathers have conquered, who likewise were a long time in gathering them together, and all came to his hands. Againe, all the money and jewels which his nobles heape together, when they die come all unto him, who giveth what he listeth to the noblemens wives and children; and this is done to all them that receive pay or living from the King. India is rich in silver, for all nations bring coyne and carry away commodities for the same; and this coyne is buried in India and goeth not out; so it is thought that once in twentie yeeres it commeth into the Kings power.

2. A view of the Great Mughal's jewels, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier²⁹

On the first day of November 1665 I went to the palace to take leave of the Emperor, but he said that he did not wish me to depart without having seen his jewels, and witnessing the splendour of his fete.

Early in the morning of the next day five or six of the Emperor's officers and others on behalf of Nawab Ja'far Khan, announced that the Emperor wished to see me. Immediately on my arrival at the Court the two custodians of the royal jewels, of whom I have elsewhere spoken, accompanied me into the presence of His Majesty; and after I had made him the customary salutation, they conducted me into a small apartment, which is at one of the ends of the hall where the Emperor was seated on his throne, and whence he was able to see us. I found in this apartment Akil Khan, chief of the jewel treasury, who, when he saw us, commanded four of the imperial eunuchs to bring the jewels, which were carried in two large wooden trays lacquered with gold leaf, and covered with small cloths made expressly for the purpose – one of red and the other of green brocaded velvet. After these trays were uncovered, and all the pieces had been counted three times over, a list was prepared by three scribes who were present. For the Indians do everything with great circumspection and patience, and when they see anyone who acts with precipitation, or becomes angry, they gaze at him without saying anything, and smile as if he were a madman.

The first piece which Akil Khan placed in my hands was the great diamond [Kohinoor], which is a round rose, very high at one side. At the basal margin it has a small notch and flaw inside. Its water is beautiful, and it weighs 319½ ratis, which are equal to 280 of our carats – the rate being $7/8$ th of our carat. When Mir Jumla, who betrayed the King of Golkonda, his master presented this stone to Shahjahah, to whose side he attached himself, it was then in the rough, and weighed 900 ratis, which are equivalent to 787½ carats; and it had several flaws.

If this stone had been in Europe it would have been treated in a different manner, for some good pieces would have been taken from it, and it would have weighed more than it does, instead of which it has been all ground down. It was the Sieur Hortensio Borgio, a Venetian, who cut it, for which he was badly rewarded; for when it was cut he was reproached with having spoilt the stone, which ought to have retained a greater weight; and instead of paying him for his work, the Emperor fined him 10,000 rupees, and would have taken more if he had possessed it. If the Sieur Hortensio had understood his trade, he would have been able to take a large piece from this stone without doing injury to the Emperor's jewel, and without having had so much trouble in grinding it; but he was not a very accomplished diamond cutter.

After I had fully examined this splendid stone, and returned it into the hands of Akil Khan, he showed me another stone, pear-shaped, of good form

and fine water, and also three other table diamonds, two clear, and the other with some little black spots. Each weighed 55 to 60 ratis, and the pear 62½. Subsequently he showed me a jewel set with twelve diamonds, each stone of 15 to 16 ratis, and all roses. In the middle a heart-shaped rose of good water, but with three small flaws, and this rose weighed about 35 or 40 ratis. Also a jewel set with seventeen diamonds, half of them table and half rose, the largest of which could not weigh more than 7 or 8 ratis, with the exception of the one in the middle, which weighed about 16. All these stones are of first-class water, clean and of good form, and the most beautiful ever found. Also two grand pear-shaped pearls, one weighing about 70 ratis, a little flattened on both sides, and of beautiful water and good form. Also a pearl button, which might weigh from 55 to 60 ratis, of good form and good water. Also a round pearl of great perfection, a little flat on one side, which weighs 56 ratis. I ascertained this to be the precise weight, and that Shah Abbas II, King of Persia, sent it as a present to the Great Mogul. Also three other round pearls, each of 25 to 28 ratis, or thereabouts, but their water tends to yellow. Also a perfectly round pearl of 36½ ratis, of a lively white, and perfect in every respect. It is the only jewel which Aurangzeb, who reigns at present, has himself purchased on account of its beauty, for the rest either came to him from Dara Shikoh, his eldest brother, he having appropriated them after he had caused his head to be cut off [Shah Jahan, who was still alive, had a large number of precious stones with him, which were handed over to Aurangzeb after the former's death], or they were presents made to him after he ascended the throne. I have elsewhere remarked that the Emperor has no great regard for jewels, priding himself only on being a great zealot of the law of Muhammad.

Akil Khan also placed in my hands, for he allowed me to examine all at my ease, two other pearls, perfectly round and equal, each of which weighed 25¼ ratis. One is slightly yellow, but the other is of very lively water, and the most beautiful that can be seen. It is true, as I have elsewhere said, that the Prince of Arabia, who has taken Maskat from the Portuguese, possesses a pearl which surpasses in beauty all others in the world; for it is perfectly round, and so white and lively that it looks as though it was transparent, but it only weighs 14 carats. There is not a single monarch in Asia who has not asked the Prince of Arabia to sell him this pearl. Also two chains, one of pearls and rubies of different shapes pierced like the pearls; the other of pearls and emeralds, round and bored. All the pearls are round and of diverse waters, and from 10 to 12 ratis each in weight. In the middle of the chain of rubies there is a large emerald of the 'old rock', cut into a rectangle and of high colour, but with many flaws. It weighs about 30 ratis. In the middle of the chain of emeralds there is an oriental amethyst, a long table, weighing about 40 ratis, and the perfection of beauty. Also a balass ruby cut en cabochon, of fine colour and clean pierced at the apex,

and weighing 17 melscals [mishkals]. Six melscals make one once (French). Also another cabochon ruby of perfect colour, but slightly flawed and pierced at the apex, which weighs 12 melscals. Also an oriental topaz [probably worn by Aurangzeb at his coronation] of very high colour cut in eight panels, which weighs 6 melscals, but on one side it has a small white fog within.

These, then, are the jewels of the Great Mogul, which he ordered to be shown to me as a special favour which he has never manifested to any other Frank; and I have held them all in my hand, and examined them with sufficient attention and leisure to be enabled to assure the reader that the description which I have just given is very exact and faithful, as is that of the thrones, which I have also had sufficient time to contemplate thoroughly.

E. MUGHAL PRINCESSES

1. Restrictions on movement, intrigues among wives, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier³⁰

The Princesses, whether they are the Emperor's wives, his daughters, or his sisters, never leave the palace except when they go to the country for a few days' change of air and scene. Some of them go, but rarely, to visit the ladies of the nobles, as for example the wife of Ja'far Khan, who is the Emperor's aunt. This is not done except by the Emperor's special permission. The custom here differs from that in Persia where the Princesses make their visits only at night, accompanied by a great number of eunuchs, who drive away all persons whom they meet on the road. But at the court of the Great Mogul the ladies generally go out at nine O'clock in the morning, and have only three or four eunuchs to accompany them, and ten or twelve female slaves who act as ladies of honour. The Princesses are carried in pallankeens covered with embroidered tapestries, and every pallankeen is followed by a small carriage which contains only one person. It is drawn by two men, and the wheels are not more than a foot in diameter: The object in taking these carriages is, that when the Princesses arrive at the houses they are going to visit, the men who carry the pallankeens are allowed to go only to the first gate, where the eunuchs compel them to retire; the Princesses then change into the carriages, and are drawn by the ladies of honour to the women's apartments. For, as I have elsewhere remarked, in the houses of the nobles the women's apartments are in the centre, and it is generally necessary to traverse two or three large courts and a garden or two before reaching them.

When the Princesses are married to nobles of the Court they become the rulers of their husbands, who, if they do not live as they desire, and do not act

according to their commands, as they possess the power of approaching the Emperor whenever they wish, they persuade him to do what they please, to the disadvantage of their husbands; most frequently asking that they be deprived of their offices. As it is the custom that the firstborn, although he be the son of a slave, succeeds to the throne, when the Princesses in the imperial harem become aware that there is one among them with child, they immediately use all conceivable methods to cause a miscarriage. When I was at Patna in the year 1666, Shaista Khan's surgeon, who is a half-caste (mestice) Portuguese, assured me that the Princess, wife of Shaista Khan, in one month had caused miscarriages to eight women of his harem, as she would not permit any children but her own to survive.

F. MUGHAL FORCES

Aurangzeb's horses and elephants, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier³¹

In the first court, on the right hand, there is a special tent under which, during the Emperor's festival, the principal baladines of the town are obliged to attend to sing and dance while the Emperor is seated on his throne. To the left there is another place, also covered by a tent, where the principal officers of the army and other officers of the guard and of the Emperor's household are in attendance.

In the same quarter, during the time the Emperor remains seated on his throne, thirty horses are kept, all bridled, fifteen on one side and fifteen on the other, each held by two men. The bridles are very narrow, and for the most part enriched with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and pearls, while some have only small gold coins. Each horse has upon its head, between the ears, a bunch of beautiful feathers, and a small cushion on the back with the surcingle, the whole embroidered with gold; and suspended from the neck there is a fine jewel, either a diamond, a ruby, or an emerald. The least valuable of these horses costs from 3,000 to 5,000 ecus, and there are some worth 20,000 rupees, i.e. 10,000 ecus. The Prince [Muhammed Akbar, fourth son of Aurangzeb], who was then only seven or eight years old, rode a small horse, the height of which did not exceed that of a large greyhound, but it was a very well-made animal.

Half an hour, or, at the most, one hour after the Emperor is seated on his throne, seven of the bravest elephants, which are trained to war, are brought for his inspection. One of the seven has its howdah ready on its back, in case the Emperor wishes to mount; the others are covered with housings of brocade, with chains of gold and silver about their necks, and there are four which carry the royal standard upon their backs; it is attached to a hand pike which a man holds erect. They are brought, one after the other, to within forty or fifty paces

of the Emperor, and when the elephant is opposite the throne it salutes His Majesty by placing its trunk on the ground and then elevating it above its head three times. On each occasion it trumpets aloud, and then, turning its back towards the Emperor; one of the men riding upon it raises the housing in order that the Emperor may see whether the animal is in good condition or not, and has been well fed. Each has its own silken cord, which is stretched round its body in order to measure whether it has increased in girth since the previous year. The principal of these elephants, of which the Emperor is very fond, is a large and fierce animal which has 500 rupees *per mensem* for its expenses. It is fed with the best food and quantities of sugar, and is given spirits to drink. I have elsewhere spoken of the number of elephants kept by the Emperor, to which I add here that when he rides out on his elephant the Omrahs follow him on horseback, and when he rides a horse the Omrahs follow on foot. After the Emperor has inspected his elephants he rises, and accompanied by three or four of his eunuchs enters his harem by a small door which is behind the oval-shaped throne.

After the Emperor has remained about half an hour in his harem, he comes out with three or four eunuchs to seat himself in the middle one of the five thrones, and during the five days of the festival, sometimes his elephants are brought, sometimes his camels, and all the nobles of his Court come to make their accustomed presents. All this is done with much magnificence, and with surroundings worthy of the greatest monarch in the East, the Great Mogul being in power and wealth in Asia what the King of France is in Europe, but having nothing comparable with him in might if he waged war with a valiant and clever people like our Europeans.



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Index

Acabar, *see* Akbar
Adultery 22-3, 236
Africa 84, 86, 92
Agra 23, 38, 47, 71-3, 77-82, 85, 110-11, 113-5, 120, 122, 131, 184, 251-2, 258, 314-5, 326, 336, 349, 352, 355, 357, 367-8
Agra Fort 114
Christians at 314
goldsmiths at 77
heavily populated, crowded bazaars 85
marriage ceremony at 336
Sati among Rajput in 252
Sati at 251
Taj Mahal 120
tombs at 120
Ahimsa 147, 180, 219
Ahmadabad 14, 71, 72, 78-9, 86-7, 105, 137-8, 164, 178-9, 294, 367-8
a considerable trade centre 86
Jogis at 137
Mahadev temple at 164
merchants from various places reside here 86
two hundred laden coaches leave every ten days for Cambay 86
Ahmadnagar 85, 154, 244, 287
Ajmer, Mausoleum of Moiuddin Chishti 120
Ajodhya, *see* Ayodhya
Akbar 1, 5, 47, 85, 111, 113-4, 116, 120, 122, 217-8, 323-4, 326-7, 347-8, 353, 362-3, 374
attitude towards Christianity 323
civility towards Jesuit Fathers 348

Albuquerque, Afonso de, Portuguese Governor of Goa 320
views on
on treatment of Muslims in conquered areas 321
take-over of the port-city to King of Portugal 320
Alexander the Great 34, 100, 111, 165, 212, 293
Allahabad 111, 144-5, 185, 355
Allahabad Fort 111
Sangam at 185
America 7, 15, 84
Animals 17-8, 41, 112, 133-5, 154, 159, 164, 177, 179, 181-3, 199, 215, 219-20, 224, 286, 341, 374-5
hospitals for 182
late sixteenth account of the extreme reverence 181
worship 147, 176
Apparel 27, 31-2, 36, 140, 280, 333
Arabia 12, 15, 84, 91, 289, 341, 372
Architecture 95, 103, 110, 112, 165, 173, 176
Areca 6, 44, 274, 279
Ascetics 41-2, 139
eating habits of 42
Jain 139
Asia 14-5, 72, 79, 84, 86, 92, 100, 184, 341, 372, 375
Aspergh 32
Astrology 185, 213-4, 216
Astronomy 189, 210
Aurangabad 5, 297, 325, 365

biggest war-tree ever 5
 Aurangeabad, *see* Aurangabad
 Aurangzeb 105-6, 113, 121, 140, 150, 155,
 161, 175, 218, 298-9, 303-4, 325-6, 332,
 357-60, 362, 372-4
 camp life 361
 execution of Prince Dara 357
 horses and elephants 374
 on hunt 360
 severe life-style 359
 size of royal guard 359
 Auran-Zeb, *see* Aurangzeb
 Ayodhya 150, 160
Azarg, Beca 211, 212
 Azevedo, Jesuit missionary Francisco de,
 views on Joshimath in 1631 105
 Baglana, child marriage 244
 Baldaeus, Philipp 106, 123, 147, 213
 views on
 Brahmins cultured 213
 eighth avatar of Vishnu 147
 Malabar language 123
 on temples in the south and the most
 celebrated Rameshwaram 106
 Banaras 51, 87, 125-6, 149-51, 158, 162,
 183, 214, 234
 bathing in the Ganges 183
 Brahmins at 214
 education in 125
 foreigners buy silk directly 87
 Jai Singh's College 125
 wedding at 234
 worship at 162
 Barbosa, Duarte 30, 31, 198, 206, 219, 228,
 234, 247, 260, 267, 272-3, 275-6, 311,
 331
 views on
 Baniyas of Gujarat, extreme commitment to
 Ahimsa 219
 Brahmins of Gujarat 206
 Devadasis at Vijayanagar 260
 dress of heathens at Vijayanagar 30
 Heathen called Bramenes at Vijayanagar 206
 Mappilas on the Malabar Coast 331
 Sati in the Vijayanagar kingdom 247
 tomb of St. Thomas 311
 tree with poisonous roots but fruit that cures
 198
 Vijayanagar, diamond mines, trade in gems,
 brocades 273
 Vijayanagar, even-handed justice; even
 powerful not spared 272
 Vijayanagar, gems trade prized 273
 Vijayanagar, goods purchased and sold by
 gold 275
 Vijayanagar, king distributes horses to his
 Lord's; maintains kitchens for the animals
 267
 Vijayanagar, king on battlefield 267
 Vijayanagar, populous city, fair palaces,
 endless number of wealthy men 276
 women devoted to husbands 234
 women in the palace 228
 women's dress at Vijayanagar 31
 Barretto, Fr. Nunes, views on on folklore
 collected at Mylapore 311
 Bassaim 149, 292, 298
 Bassora 12, 15, 73, 91
 Battle of Talikota 287
 Beg, Muhammad Ali 73
 Belgaum 6, 67, 196, 334
 Bengal 5, 10, 12-3, 30, 32, 39, 71, 73-4, 78-
 80, 86, 88, 91-2, 139, 144, 157, 184-6,
 198, 208, 264, 368
 abundance of 13
 beauty of 5
 diet of 39
 dress in 32
 dwellings in 30
 eclipse witnessed 185
 entry of bullion 12
 export of cotton cloth 12
 Ganga worship in 184
 produce of 13
Bengala, see Bengal
Bengale, see Bengal
 Bernier, Francois 1-2, 5, 12-3, 15, 74-5, 80,
 88, 116, 118-9, 121, 125, 130, 132-6,
 140, 147-9, 157, 174, 186, 189, 195, 201,
 258, 305, 315, 326, 367

views on
 abundance of Bengal 13
 austerities of Jogis 140
 beauty of Bengal 5
 beauty of Kashmir 1
 Bengal more fertile than Egypt 12
 Bengal store house of cotton and silk 74
 crafts of Kashmir, shawls of unrivalled
 excellence 75
 education in Banaras, Athens of India 125
 four Yugas 189
 Gentile tables 189
 Great Mughal a foreigner in India 367
 gum lac, opium, wax, long pepper 80
 Hindu beliefs on the nature of divinity 132
 holding cow's tail, one can cross the river
 between this life and the next 134
 image worship, discussion in Banaras 149
 influence of Hindu theory of maya on Dara
 and Sujah 136
 Jagannath temple, the annual rath yatra 157
 Jama Masjid, Delhi 119
 Jesuits and the Mughal Emperors 326
 Jews in Kashmir 305
 markets in Delhi, costly goods not on open
 display 88
 Martand temple in Kashmir 174
 Missionaries and the Hindu Trinity 130
 native remedies successful in Hindustan 195
 origin of varna as stated in the Vedas 201
 produce of Kashmir 13
 Red Fort, Delhi 116
 Shahjahanabad 118
 six schools of philosophy 132
 solar eclipses in France and Delhi 186
 some instances of sati witnessed 258
 Taj Mahal 121
 tenth incarnation for liberation from Muslim
 tyranny 148
 theory explained by pandits 147
 to you your religion, to me mine 135
 Transmigration of Souls 133
 wealth of India 5, 15
 Betel 6, 44, 59, 170–71, 192, 197, 242, 249,
 271, 274, 325, 337

eating 44
 offering 242
 Bezeneger, *see* Vijayanagar
 Bijapur 6, 14, 16, 48–9, 82, 85, 257, 286–7,
 292–5, 331–2, 340, 365
 a great town 85
 king of 257, 292, 332
 royal seraglio at 340
 Bisnaga 55, 103, 108, 207–8, 248, 263–4,
 270–71, 276, 280, 284, 289
 Bocarro, chronicler Antonio, views on Hindus
 in their element here 154
 Bowrey, Thomas, views on observations on
 Hindu temples, Rare and admirable works
 107
 Brampour, *see* Burhanpur
Breve Relacao das Escrituras dos Gentios da
India Oriental 124
 on medical education offered to Hindu
 physicians in India 124
 Burhanpur 72–4, 78, 113, 355, 367–8
 Cabral, Pedro Alvares 319
 Calicut 14, 35, 85, 87, 92, 112, 162, 201, 224,
 245, 271, 290
 bazaar at 87
 castes in 201
 city of 87
 dress in 35
 king's palace at 112
 Nairs of 245
 Poleas at 224
 worship by king 162
 Cambaia, *see* Cambay
 Cambay 26, 29, 43, 86–7, 90, 92, 138, 163,
 165, 168, 181–2, 193, 198, 206, 211, 274
 Brahmins at 211
 exquisite [Jain] temple at 163
 hospital for birds and mice 181
 hospitals for animals 182
 houses with cisterns to preserve monsoon
 water, great concourse of ships 87
 temple of Vratis [Jains?] at 165
 Yogis outside temple at 138
Canja, see Hemp
 Careri, Giovanni 25, 43, 100, 161, 183, 188,

205, 216, 219, 319, 342
 views on
 Brahmins and Janaeu 216
 castes, expulsion and re-admission 205
 earthen vessels broken before eclipse 188
 gentiles will not eat with others 43
 Indians 25
 Kanheri Caves 100
 missionaries forced to live like Hindus 319
 Nairs consult deity before battles 219
 non-violence pronounced among Brahmins and Baniyas 183
 Rameshwaram temple, Coconuts offered 161
 women do not appear in public 342
 Carre, Abbe 48, 67, 196, 204, 292, 294-5, 315, 318, 334, 340, 343
 views on
 Afzal Khan kills his wives 294
 Bijapur, state of coolies 48
 castes at Madras 204
 Christmas at Goa, no sermons in churches 318
 Church at Madras built by French Capuchin Fathers 315
 cured with a concoction of herbs, cow's urine and dung administered by Hindu servants 196
 Mughal embassy at Bijapur, proposes alliance against Shivaji 292
 pilgrims to the shrine of Khwaja Banda Nawaz at Gulbarga 343
 royal seraglio at Bijapur 340
 Shivaji kills Afzal Khan 295
 Casanbazar, *see* Kasimbazaar
 Castanheda, Fernao Lopes de 5, 32, 222, 240, 245, 252
 views on
 Goa 5
 wealth of 222
 wedding ceremonies 240
 matrilineal system among 245
 Sati among 252
 apparels 32
 Castes 13, 21, 24, 26, 28, 35-6, 41-2, 45, 48-9, 52-3, 134-5, 139, 192, 197, 201-4, 246, 249, 253, 257, 292, 324, 374
 Baniyas 25, 27-9, 32, 37-9, 43, 67, 82, 90, 133, 135, 159-60, 177-9, 181, 183-5, 197, 201-2, 204-5, 209, 219-2, 225, 252, 307, 309
 wealth of 222
 Banjaras 203
 Beituas 223
 Bescue 201
 Brahmins 24, 26-9, 32, 37, 39-42, 42, 50-53, 57-9, 61-2, 124-5, 134-5, 139, 151, 153-61, 166, 178-80, 183, 185-8, 191-2, 194, 199, 201-16, 234, 236-8, 240-43, 248, 251, 257-8, 260, 282, 285, 300, 304, 324
 acute and of much talent 207
 eating habits of 42
 good at astronomy 210
 great esteem of 209, 210
 Gymnosopists and 216
 intellect 216
 Janaeu and 216
 language of 124
 philosophy and 210
 Sati among 251
 wedding ceremonies 238
 wives beautiful and retiring 207
 Canacos 223
 Canaras 27-8, 98
 Canarijis 223, 270
 Charados 223
 Curriers 224
 Der 224
 Dhed 224
 expulsion and re-admission 205
 Halalcour 223-4, 309-10
 Haramcour 224
 Heathen 30, 90, 97, 99, 103, 106, 155, 195, 206, 209, 216, 220, 273, 276, 311, 315, 331, 334, 336
 Irava 223
 Kahars 203
 Kaniyans 223
 Khatris 86, 201, 204-5, 217-8, 221

Kolis 203
 Kshatriya 201, 205, 217
 wedding ceremonies 240
 Kurmis 29, 135, 204
 Macua 21
 Mainates 223
 Mukkuvan 21, 75, 202, 223
 multiplicity of 202
 Nairs 201, 217-9, 224, 229, 245, 290-91, 319
 matrilineal system among 245
 Nambuderis 205
 Nayars 21, 192, 205-6, 218-9, 223, 311
 Parayans 223
 Pareos 223
 Pariah 204, 224
 Parianes 225
 Patans 368
 Periaves 224
 Poleas 26, 223-5
 profess same religion but ceremonies differ 203
 Pulayans 223
Quetterey 201
 Rajput 40, 135, 176, 201-2, 204, 217-8, 220, 223, 243, 362-5, 368
 Sati among 252
 Shudra 201, 223, 243
 untouchables 201, 223
 Vannathamars 223
 Vettuvans 223
 Yravas 223
 Castro, Dom Joao de, Viceroy of Goa 95, 97
 views on
 Elephanta Caves 95
 Pagoda of Salsette, made by spirits 97
 caves
 Darbar cave 99
 Elephanta Caves 95
 Ellora 102-3, 175
 Kanheri Caves 98
 Pagoda of Salsette 97
 Pagod of the Canarin 100
 Portuguese attempts to destroy 99
 Caxmir, *see* Kashmir

Ceylon 5, 12, 15, 84, 92, 161, 273
 Cha-Gehan, *see* Shah Jahan
 Cham, the son of Noah 34
 Chan, Asaf 354-7
 Chasta-Can, *see* Khan, Shaista
 China 27, 63, 90-92, 126, 150, 274, 306, 316
 Chitanagar, *see* Sitanagar
 Chorrom, Sultan 352, 354-7
 Chosrou, Sultan 352-5
 Christianity 311, 321-4, 326, 328, 358
 Akbar's attitude 323
 Christians 13, 28, 38-9, 43, 90, 112, 148-9, 166, 196, 204, 230, 247, 311, 314-8, 321-5, 327-8, 332, 353
 Christ, Jesus 306, 315, 320, 328
Ciampa, *see* Flower, Champa
 Cleanliness 21, 37
 bathing 31, 37-8, 138, 147, 160, 174, 183-4, 186, 241, 370
 festival 184
 importance of 37
 ritual 147, 183
 cow dung for purification 38
 washing 38, 50, 170, 192, 240
 Cochin 14, 18, 23, 37, 39, 90, 92, 150, 174-5, 197, 206, 216, 290, 305-6, 324
 temple of swearing 174
 Cycin, *see* Cochin
 Corn 5, 9, 13-4, 186, 274, 279, 364
 Correia, Gasper 151, 192
 views on
 Cholera epidemic in Goa in 1543 192
 of the Richness of the Pagode of Tremelle and of the Pomp with which the King of Bisnege visits it 151
 Coryat, Thomas, views on bathing festival at Hardwar, nothing comparable in Asia 184
 Cosmology 129
 Costa, Cristovao da, views on cleanliness 37
 Costa, Sig. Alvaro da 329
 Costa, Ventura da 328
 Cotton 12-4, 31-3, 35-6, 45-6, 56, 72-5, 84, 88-9, 92, 182, 203, 209, 216, 229, 234, 240, 274, 337, 342
 painted 72

spun and unspun 73
 white 72

Couto, Diego do 96, 98

views on

Elephanta Caves 96

Kanheri Caves, sculpted to perfection 98

Coutre, jeweller-trader Jacques de, views on
 large and sumptuous edifice 153

Cow 2, 6, 27, 30, 38, 41, 43, 50, 106, 134, 139, 142, 154, 157, 177-8, 181-3, 196, 199, 205, 207-8, 221, 223, 239, 241, 256, 265, 271, 274, 279, 282, 284, 307

cow-dung 38, 50, 177-8

holding tail 177

killing of 134

King of Tanjore has special apartment for 178

meat taboo 41

urine 177-8, 196

worship 177

Cutup de lashach, *see* Shah, Sultan Abdullah Qutb

Dahi, *see* Food Habits, curd

Daman, cow worship in 177

Dancing 55-60, 62, 65-6, 68, 170-71, 228, 250, 258-9, 282-3, 286, 338

Dara 136, 327, 357-8, 363-5, 372

Decam, *see* Deccan

Decan, *see* Ahmadnagar

Deccan 6, 25, 27, 264, 267, 270, 274

Dehli, *see* Delhi

Dehly, *see* Delhi

Delhi 88-9, 110, 115-6, 119, 140, 186, 306, 357

ancient stone pillar in front of Sultan's palace 110

confectioners' shops 88

Emperor's palace 115

fruit market in 88

Jama Masjid 119

meat shops 89

Red Fort 116

Am-Kas 117-8

Solar eclipses in 186

Devotion 23, 28, 67, 99, 106, 144, 161, 168, 175, 184-5, 203

Dignity 23, 59, 61, 158, 206, 345, 347-8, 363

Diseases and cures 189, 191

brain fever 195

catarrh 191, 192

cholera 192

dysentery 192-4

elephantiasis 192

fevers 191-2, 194

inflammation 11, 193, 195

use of minerals for cure 193

wounds 191, 234

Diversity 36, 130, 135, 331

Dress 21, 28, 30-37, 43, 52, 57, 117, 170, 222, 254, 341

apparel of Baniyas at Goa 32

bindi and sindoor 32

ear piercing 36

fashions of 35

Gentiles and Moors 37

Gentile women 34

heathens at Vijayanagar 30

Hindu nobility 35

in Bengal 32

in Calicut 35

Indian 33

men 32

Nair kings 35

ordinary people 36

red colour 34

rich apparel in Vijayanagar 31

royal ladies at Tanjore 37

white coloured clothes 33

white linen in common use 33

Women's dress 31-2, 340

Drugs 46, 71, 80, 92, 186, 189, 196-7, 199, 291

Dutch 7, 13-5, 18, 23, 43, 48, 71-4, 78-9, 92, 154, 178-9, 301, 315

broker 23

company 78, 178-9

factory 23

Dwelling 28, 30, 41-2, 45, 52, 56, 58, 82, 97, 118, 158, 204, 284, 305

abode of common people 30

Bengal 30

houses of the rich 29
 Ecbar, *see* Akbar
 Eclipse 147, 180, 183, 185–91, 210, 213
 earthen vessels broken 188
 solar 186
 Economic disparities 21, 44
 armed resistance by peasants 48
 Kanpur district in 1632 48
 Mathura region 48
 Bijapur, state of coolies 48
 endurance of common people 44
 artisans, servants and shopkeepers 45
 rich live off the sweat of poor 47
 servants in houses 45
 shopkeepers 46
 workmen 45
 inability of peasants to pay high revenue 48
 oppression of peasantry 47
 wives and children of defaulting cultivators
 sold 47
 Economic life 71
 arts and crafts of India 71, 74
 Boats of Malabar 74
 crafts of Kashmir 75
 goldsmiths at Agra 77
 multitude of craftsmen 75
 Palanquins and chariots 76
 diamond industry 71, 81
 drugs prepared in India 71, 80
 borax 81
 Borax 77, 80
 Sal ammoniac 81
 Spikenard 81
 indigo, saltpetre and gum lac 71
 ports and trade 71, 89
 Bharuch 92
 Diu 89
 Goa 90
 Surat 91
 textiles 71
 baftas 72–3
 carpets 10, 46, 71, 335, 359
 chintzes 72, 344
 chites 18, 72
 cotton cloths 72–4
 coverings 74
 handkerchiefs 74
 Omrahs 75, 115–9, 122, 327, 375
 orhnis 72
 ornis 72
 patoles 72
 qalamdar 72
 satins 63, 71
 scarfs 74
 shawls 13, 75, 271
 touz 75
 veils 74
 towns and bazaars 71, 84
 Education 123–5
 medical 124
 Egypt 12, 33–4, 122, 134, 203
 dress 33
 navigation and commerce into India 34
 Egyptians 34, 164, 181, 211
 Elephants
 intelligence of 18
 mode of hunting 18
 most docile creatures 17
 Embroidery 56, 59, 61, 75, 178
 England 6, 92, 98, 317
 English 13, 15, 25, 43, 73–4, 80, 92, 113,
 245, 259, 300–302, 315–8, 324
 Entertainment 68
 chess 68
 feats of agility 69
 music 61, 68, 151, 223, 228, 234, 239, 241,
 247–8, 252, 257, 266, 272, 286, 317, 337–
 9
 Ethiopia 21, 84, 306
 Eunuchs 42, 56, 61, 117, 228, 265, 340–41,
 359, 371, 373, 375
 Europe 9–10, 12, 14, 22, 25, 36, 41, 69, 73–
 4, 79, 82, 84, 91–2, 151, 175, 212, 214,
 229, 238–9, 305, 319, 325–6, 328, 340,
 342, 359, 371, 375
 apples of 9
 chestnuts of 9
 diamond-cutters in 82
 pine-cone of 9
 plums in 9

Rope-dancers 69
 Europeans 24-5, 42, 76, 100, 124, 212, 230, 257, 306, 328, 375
 Faith 42, 129, 133, 135-6, 143, 180, 205, 208, 290, 305, 319-24, 326, 353
 Christian 136, 305, 319-20, 322, 326
 Fakir 135, 140-41, 144-5, 185, 298, 342
 Fatehpur Sikri 71, 85, 113
 Federici, Cesare 12, 31, 287
 views on
 Battle of Talikota, 1565 287
 Bengal 12
 entry of bullion into Bengal 12
 Sati in Vijayanagar 249
 Sondwip 12
 Fenicio, Fr. James 323
 Festivals 55, 172-3, 308, 331, 333
 Deepavali 66
 Dussehra 55, 65
 Holil 67
 Muharram 333
 Nauroz celebrations 333
 Ramzan 334, 335
 Finch, William 85-6, 108, 110-11, 113, 120, 160, 163, 176, 217, 324
 views on
 Agra heavily populated, crowded bazaars 85
 Ahmadabad, two hundred laden coaches leave every ten days for Cambay 86
 Allahabad Fort 111
 antique tank at Merta 108
 Ayodhya temple, Brahmins keep records of pilgrims 160
 beautiful temples in Merta 163
 conversion of Mughal princes to Christianity 324
 Delhi, ancient stone pillar in front of Sultan's palace 110
 Fatehpur Sikri 113
 Jalor Fort 110
 Mausoleum of Moiuddin Chishti at Ajmer 120
 Nagarkot temple, where people cut their tongue for offering 163
 Reverence for Rana of Mewar 217
 Undying fig tree at Prayag 176
 Fitch, Ralph 12, 14, 32, 85, 89, 90, 162, 177, 183, 208, 234
 views on
 bathing in the Ganges at Banaras 183
 Bijapur a great town 85
 bindi and sindoor 32
 Brahmins in Satgaon, Bengal 208
 Diu, Muslim ships cannot pass without passport from Portuguese 89
 Goa, Yearly arrival of fleet from Portugal 90
 Sonargaon 12
 spices of South India 14
 wedding at Banaras 234
 worship at Banaras 162
 Florentine, Andrea Corsali 98
 Flower 7, 28, 77, 101, 168, 170-71, 249, 254-5, 364
 Champa 7
 European 2
 Gilly 7
 Flud, Robert 136
 Food habits 38
 betel eating 44
 butter 13, 39, 42, 45, 49, 80, 88, 134, 157, 178, 180, 186, 190, 204, 206-7, 209, 215, 221, 239, 248, 258, 265, 279, 292, 360
 cow's meat 41
 curd 43
 diet of Bengal 39
 eating habits of ascetics 42
 egg 30, 41, 73, 79, 180
 fasting 42
 fear of pollution 40
 Fish 6, 13, 27, 29, 39, 41, 49, 108, 133, 181, 183, 191-2, 204, 207, 215, 219, 221, 242-3, 276, 278, 290-91, 312
 dried 49, 278
 shell-fish 41
 food from non-countrymen 39
 food of red colour 38
 food preparation 43, 158, 243
 ghee 13, 80, 258, 286
 herbs, milk and butter 39
 khichri normal diet 45, 126

meat 13, 27, 39–41, 45, 88–9, 181, 191, 195, 209, 215, 217, 221

milk 2, 8–9, 28, 30, 39, 43, 49, 79, 134, 143, 145, 157, 178, 180, 182, 186, 199, 206, 215, 239, 241, 265, 279, 292, 343

mode of eating 41

oil 5–6, 9, 11, 49–50, 66, 79, 81–2, 88, 149, 153, 192, 198, 204, 219, 248–9, 258, 260, 266, 279, 285, 291, 339

preferred drink 39

princes and kings 41

red colour food 38

tea drinking 43

use of eating and drinking vessels 39

France 15, 186, 315, 317–8, 375

solar eclipses in 186

Fruits 2, 4, 6–13, 28, 29, 44, 46, 49, 77, 88, 108, 159, 173, 179, 198, 202, 207, 209–10, 215, 239, 279, 292, 334, 337, 343

Almonds 88, 337

Ambas 7, 88

Ananas 7, 9, 12–3

Apple 2, 7–9, 13, 88, 134, 210

Apricot 2, 13, 88

Balk 88

Bokara 88

Cajoor 8

Chestnutt 8

Chick-pea 10

Coconut 7–8, 11, 49, 61, 73, 161, 185, 192, 198, 205, 238–9

Dates 7

Figs 7, 238

Grapes 7, 13, 88, 278–80

Jack-fruit 8–9

barca 9

pacheri 9

papa 9

Jamboes 8

Kernell 8

Lime 7, 9, 13, 30, 78, 96, 119, 161, 234, 278–9, 286

Limon 7

Mango 7–9, 12, 88, 279

Agua de Lupe 9

Araup 9

Babia 8

Carre ira branca 8

Carreira vermebla 8

Joani Parreira 8

kinds of pickles 9

Mainato 9

Malaiasses 8

medicinal use 9

Niculao Affonso 8

Our Lady 9

Porta 9

red Carreira 8

Secreta 9

white Carreira 8

Melon 2, 7, 13, 88, 292

Musk-melon 7

Orange 7, 108, 278

Palm 4, 6, 10, 24, 30, 49, 53, 123, 127, 180, 215, 279, 291

Pateques 88

Pear 2, 7–9, 13, 88, 134, 369, 371–2

Pineapple 5, 7, 9, 12–3

Pistachios 88

Plantans 7

Plum 2, 9

Pome-citrons 7

Prunes 88

Radishes 2

Raisins 88, 337

Samarkande 88

Strawberry 7

Walnut 2, 9, 88, 157

Water-melons 2, 7, 88, 292

Water parsnips 2

Fryer, John 96, 98, 300

views on

Elephanta Caves 96

Kanheri Caves, city all cut of rock 98

party arrives at Raigarh 300

Funeral rites 21, 50

Brahmins attend to dying 50

bier lifted 50

body prepared for cremation 50

Brahmins fed 51

obligation to sleep on the ground 51
 tenth day ceremonies 51
 Hindus 51
 mode of burning body 52
 widow 52
Ganja, *see* Hemp
 Garsopa 166, 229
 Hanuman temple at ghat near 166
 Women rulers of 229
Gehanguir, *see* Jahangir
 Geleynssen, Wollebrand de Jongh, views on
 Dutch factor in Gujarat 48
Gentile 28, 34, 43, 86, 136, 140, 146, 149,
 161, 184, 187, 189, 202, 204, 216, 229,
 244–5, 287, 306, *see also* Hindu
 Indian 34, 67, 173, 181
 Goa 5, 8, 11–2, 21, 25–8, 32, 39, 48, 51, 68,
 84, 88, 90, 95, 98, 102, 124, 130, 181,
 184, 192–3, 195, 197, 199, 210, 213, 247,
 264, 270, 274, 287–8, 294, 305–6, 312–
 4, 316, 318, 320–25, 329
 apparel of Baniyas at 32
 canonisation of Francis Xavier at 313
 Cholera epidemic in 192
 Christmas at 318
 fruits of 8
 Hindu physicians at 195
 Inquisition at 316
 Goa Mission 130
 Pathashalas in 124
 Port of 90
 priest-ridden city 312
 river festival 184
 Sati in 247
 trade in precious stones in 84
 Godinho, Manuel 92, 142, 215, 221
 views on
 Baniyas of Surat, abstemious existence 221
 Brahmins of Malabar 215
 Port of Surat richest in the world 92
 Yogis at Surat 142
 Golkonda 12, 16, 72, 78, 82, 85, 88, 198,
 287, 294, 331–3, 371
 Muharram in 333
 Goul-tchen-raz, *see* Raz, Gulshan

Great Mughal 14, 72, 74, 78, 120, 125, 150,
 188, 217–8, 220, 292–3, 297, 299, 309,
 331–2, 367–8, 371–3, 375
 Gudigno, Sig. Matteo Galvano 213
 Gujarat 10, 29, 38, 47–8, 71, 73, 206, 219
 Baniyas of 38, 219
 Brahmins of 206
 Dutch factor and 48
 Gulbarga, shrine of Khwaja Banda Nawaz at
 343
 Gum lac 30, 71, 78, 80
 Gurramkonda 153
 Gymnosopists 142–3, 164–5, 216
 Brahmins and 216
 Halabas, *see* Allahabad
 Hampi 63, 207, 273, 276, 279
 Vithala temple 63, 281, 283, 285
 Hardwar 150, 184
 bathing festival 184
 Hawkins, William 251, 333, 349–50, 370
 views on 1
 Jahangir, birthday celebrations 350
 Jahangir, daily routine 349
 Jahangir, size of retinue 350
 Jahangir's jewels and wealth 370
 Nauroz celebrations under Jahangir 333
 Sati at Agra 251
 Heathenish superstitions 32
 Hemp 2, 49, 78, 142
 Henriques, Fr. Francis, views on on Akbar
 347
 Henriques, Fr. Henry, first European to
 prepare a Tamil grammar 123
 Herbert, Thomas, early seventeenth century
 visitor, views on rare values 183
 Herbs 7, 29, 39, 49, 138, 183, 194, 196, 215,
 225, 276, 319
 Herodotus 34, 181, 203
Hindoustan, *see* India
 Hindu 5, 22, 24–5, 28–9, 33–4, 37–9, 41–3,
 51–2, 67, 85, 88, 95, 100, 106, 113, 125–
 6, 130–31, 134–5, 141, 143–5, 148–50,
 153–5, 161–5, 173–4, 176, 179–82, 184–
 5, 187–9, 191, 195, 202, 204, 209, 213,
 215–7, 220–21, 225, 227, 229, 231, 237,

244, 249, 301, 307, 316-7, 319, 323-5, 328, 338, 343-4, 355, 365, 367

at Goa 25

beliefs about the planets 190

conversion of 321

devotion to priests 23

dip in Ganges 38

dress of nobility 35

Hindu morality 22

in Malabar 26

nobility 35

opinion about foreigners 24

physicians 124, 189, 194-5

professions followed 29

removal of shoes on entering house 36

salutations of 24

sannyasis 24

talented and industrious 22

wives 244

Holland 45, 71, 79, 124, 181, 368

Ikkeri 111, 127, 166, 168-70, 172, 229-30, 244, 253, 329

dancing priest at 169

Keladi chief of 244

Royal palace at 111

Sati by a drummer's widow at 253

temple and town illuminated at 172

Temple at Honelli 166

Temple procession at 170

Image worship 147, 149

Incarnation 147-8

tenth 148

theory of 147

India

arts and crafts 71, 74

Christianity in 311

diamond-cutters 82

drugs prepared in 71, 80

fruits of 8

Islam in 332

Mughal 49, 368

Mughals in 347

multitude of craftsmen in 75

southerne parts of 6

Spanish account of seventeenth century 70

spices of 14

wealth of 5, 15

Indians 5, 11, 15, 22, 25, 34, 37, 40, 43-4, 72, 75-8, 82-4, 90, 111, 130, 134-5, 138, 149, 157, 160, 163-6, 176-7, 184, 187, 199, 202-3, 209-13, 216, 224, 244, 253, 290, 305, 309, 316, 343, 371

description of 25

ingenuity 25

Indies, *see* India

Indigo 71, 72, 74, 78-9, 87

production, method of preparation 78

Indostan, *see* India

Islam 331-2

festivals 55, 172-3, 308, 331, 333

Muharram 333

Nauroz celebrations 333

Ramzan 334-5

Law of Muhammad 332, 372

marriage customs 336

Mehndi day 337

Muslim 3, 15, 22, 24, 29, 32-4, 37-9, 43, 49, 83, 88-9, 126, 134, 148, 180, 182-3, 188, 195, 211, 213, 216, 223, 244, 246-7, 253, 256, 279, 287, 290, 306-8, 315, 321, 325, 327-8, 331-2, 334, 342, 345, 348, 355, 359-60, 367-8

Shias 331, 332

Sunnis 331, 332, 334

pilgrimages and pirs 331, 342

royal harems 339

Italy 33, 92, 103-4, 116, 139, 169

Moris-dance 169

Jahangir 5, 81, 122, 326, 332-3, 342, 349-53, 364, 366-7, 370

daily routine 349

interview with 350

jewels and wealth 370

justice of 366

passion for hunting and the courage of Anira 351

treatment of Prince Khusro 353

Jalor Fort 110

Japan 15, 71, 74

Jarric, Jesuit historian, Du, views on

observations on Hindu temples 106
 Jewels 31, 34-5, 37, 56, 59, 61-2, 64, 84, 153-4, 163, 169-71, 177-8, 222, 232-4, 247-52, 272, 298, 314, 339, 347, 350, 357, 359, 370-73
 Jews 202, 212, 216, 220, 305-6
 Judaism 306
 Justus Lipsius, Joest Lips, the Dutch humanist, *Epistles* 18
 Kabul 74, 89, 144
 Baniya physicians 196
 celebration of Krishna's killing of Kansa in 148
 Holi in 67
Kachemire, *see* Kashmir
 Kandahar 89, 354, 368
 Karnataka 12, 81, 150, 155, 233, 271
 Kashmir 1, 3-5, 13, 47, 75, 174, 305-6, 368
 beauty of 1
 Buddhist temple 3
 capital of 3
 conditions in 47
 crafts of 75
 Dal Lake 3
 Hari Parbat 3
 Jews in 305
 Martand temple in 174
 Muslim invasion of 3
 produce of 13
 scenic beauty 4
 Shalimar 4
 summer-houses 4
 Takht-i Suliman 3
 Verdant Mountain 3
 Kasimbazaar 13, 71, 74
 silk factory 74
 Kelum-Allah 328
 Khan, Afzal 294-5, 297
 Khan, Akil 371-2
 Khandesh, Castle of Berampur 113
 Khan, Shaista 297, 298, 374
 Kircher, Father, *China Illustrata* 126
 Koran, the 121, 326, 327, 331
 Koromandel 12, 91, 264
 Ladakh 2

Lahor, *see* Lahore
 Lahore 2, 14, 72-4, 81, 89, 118, 145, 163, 175, 260, 326, 367-8
 Convent of Vartins [Jains] at 145
 painted cloaths 14
 Lancilotto, Fr. Nicolas 322
 Languages 3, 52, 77, 123-7, 136, 167, 190, 192, 202, 211, 214, 230, 242, 254, 270, 290, 322, 328-9
 Arabian 121, 123-4, 287
 Canara 127
 Chaldean 124
 Greek 123
 Gujarati 123
 Hebrew 124
 Hindi 123
 Indostan 14, 74, 76, 89, 123, 300
 Kannada 61, 132
 Latin 123, 124, 126, 324
 Malabar 123
 Malayalam 11
 Nagari 123
 Persian 1, 4, 15, 84, 91-2, 120, 123-4, 136, 138, 163, 224, 230, 269, 299, 327, 331, 335, 338, 343, 349, 356
 Samaritan 124
 Sanskrit 92, 124-6, 130-31, 204, 324
 Tamil 123
 Telugu 16, 77
 Laval, Francois Pyrard de 12, 22
 views on
 Chittagong 12
 people of India 22
 Legumes 194, 215
 Linschoten, Jan Huygen van 27, 32, 38-9, 90, 96-7, 162, 180-81, 195, 209, 235, 251, 305
 views on
 apparel of Baniyas at Goa 32
 Baniyas would starve to death than accept food from non-countrymen 39
 Canarijns and Corumbijns 27
 Deccanis 27
 Deccanis - seven times around sacred fire 235
 Elephanta Caves 96

emphasis on frequent washing 38
 even flea and lice not killed 180
 food habits 38
 Goa, rich heathen merchants, brisk trade 90
 Great esteem of Brahmins 209
 Hindu physicians at Goa treat Portuguese 195
 Hindus pray frequently 162
 Jews cannot openly practice their faith in Portuguese controlled territory 305
 Pagoda of Salsette, images cut out of rock 97
 pots of water and grain kept on ground for birds and animals 181
 Sati among Brahmins 251
 Lions 2, 18-9, 56, 95, 162, 352, 360
 Lisbon 64, 85, 98, 277
 Corpo de Dios festival 64
 London 114, 120, 350
 Lord, Reverend Henry 129, 256
 views on
 Hindu Trinity, birth of Manu 129
 Sati not common 256
 Madras 155, 204, 242, 315-8, 326
 Maffei, G. P., views on observations on Hindu temples 106
 Mahomet 91, 120, 306-7, 324, 328, 336, 367
 Malabar 12, 14, 21, 26, 59, 74, 85, 91, 106, 123-4, 192-3, 198, 205-6, 215-6, 218, 223, 264, 270, 274, 291, 311, 331
 Beituaas 223
 Boats 74
 Brahmins of 205, 215
 kings of 205
 Canacos 223
 Canjares 223
 custom in 205
 elephantiasis in 192
 Hindu society in 26
 Irava 223
 kings of 205-6
 Mainates 223
 Pareos 223
 Poleaa 223
 Syrian Christians in 311
 Yravas 223
 Malaca 8, 12, 43, 91-2

Maldives 12, 15, 91-2
 Mandelslo, John Albert de 43, 105, 307
 views on
 Jain temple of Cintamani at Ahmedabad, destroyed by Aurangzeb in 1644-6, rebuilt by the merchant Santidas, 105
 Parsees, live peaceably 307
 tea drinking, a cleaning system 43
 Mangalore 172-3, 198, 229-30, 233, 270, 274
 Manghe, *see* Fruits, Mango
 Manrique, Fray Sebastian 30, 32, 39, 48, 86, 180, 184
 views on
 Dacca, where Khatris are rich beyond belief 86
 diet of Bengal 39
 dress in Bengal 32
 dwellings in Bengal 30
 Ganga worship in Bengal 184
 inability of peasants to pay high revenue 48
 Manucci, Niccolao 8, 18, 24, 30, 35-6, 41, 44, 48, 51, 91, 130-31, 139, 150, 155, 161, 177, 179-80, 190, 214, 227, 237-8, 240, 242-3, 299, 303-4, 325, 345, 357, 360-63
 views on
 abode of common people 30
 armed resistance by peasants in Mathura region 48
 arrival of Shivaji at camp of Raja Jai Singh, visit to Delhi, escape from Mughal capital 299
 Aurangzeb in old age, still eager for war 360
 Aurangzeb keeps up appearance of devoutness 361
 Aurangzeb writes to the rebel Prince Akbar, criticises Rajputs 362
 betel offered by way of politeness 44
 Brahmins as cooks 214
 Brahmin wedding ceremonies 238
 Carmelite missionaries have no knowledge of Indian reality, threaten to teach a military trick to Marathas if Aurangzeb does not permit conversions 325

cobras kept at special places in temples 180
 cow's meat taboo 41
 cow's urine, dung regarded holy 177
 Divorce not known among Brahmins and Rajputs 243
 dress of Hindu nobility 35
 dress of ordinary people 36
 ear piercing 36
 execution of Prince Dara on orders of Aurangzeb 357
 funeral ceremonies common among all Hindus 51
 Hindu belief in the essence of God 131
 Hindu beliefs about the planets 190
 Hindu opinion of foreigners 24
 Hindus divide women into four categories 227
 importance of marriage for Hindus, the mangalsutra 237
 Jain ascetics pull out hair one by one 139
 Kshatriya wedding ceremonies 240
 mango, jack-fruit, and other produce 8
 Marathas resolve to carry on struggle 304
 mode of eating 41
 mode of hunting elephants 18
 monkeys reared at temples, those at Mathura migrate to Rana territory on destruction of temple 179
 Muslim view of how European nations differ 345
 no marriage among merchants without informing shoe-maker of locality 242
 Parashakti and Brahma, Vishnu, Rudra 130
 Prince Akbar replies to Aurangzeb 363
 Rameshwaram temple, Even desecrated temples full of devotees 161
 salutations of the Hindus 24
 Sambha Ji captured by treachery, subjected to cruel death 303
 Sambha Ji wears out Mughal commanders, Aurangzeb plans his capture 303
 seven most sacred sites 150
 Surat, Hindu merchants ask incoming ship to sell entire cargo, Surat centre of ship-building 91
 Tirupati, people shave their hair 155
 Turumbu, a token divorce among some Shudra castes 243
 Manuscripts 123, 127
 Palm leaf 123
 Marathas 304, 325
 Martin, Francois, views on Four Temples, Chidambaram 104
 Martire, S. Pietro 313
 Massulapatao 91
 Mastication 42
 Masulipatam 12, 72, 78, 86, 91, 333
 Mathura 23, 48, 150, 159-60, 179
 pagoda of 23
 Meat 8, 13, 27, 39-41, 45, 88-9, 181, 185, 191, 195, 209, 215, 217, 221, 302
 Mecca 62-3, 90-92, 120, 157, 366
 Medici, Duke Giuliano de, views on Pagoda of Salsette, destruction of temple in Goa by the Portuguese 98
 Merta 108, 163
 beautiful temples in 163
 Metals and stones 4, 6, 9, 16, 19, 31-2, 37, 49, 57-8, 60-61, 63-4, 66, 68, 73, 75, 82-4, 90, 92, 116, 119, 121-2, 143, 154, 162, 178, 189, 197-9, 219, 228, 251, 257, 261, 268, 271, 273-4, 277-8, 280, 282, 287, 293, 335, 350, 369-70, 372
 brass 75, 81, 154, 169, 173, 215, 236
 copper 32, 38, 41, 65, 75, 81, 90, 106, 119, 139, 152, 157, 215, 235, 257, 267, 274, 280-81, 285-6, 344
 corrals 90
 diamond 16, 56-7, 60-61, 81-4, 153-4, 156, 273, 278, 280, 349, 359, 368-72, 374
 industry 71, 81
 merchants 83
 trade in 82, 83
 emeralds 57, 61, 159, 278, 349, 359, 368-70, 372, 374
 gold 12, 15-6, 31-5, 37, 41, 53, 56-7, 59-64, 66, 71-2, 74-5, 83, 85-6, 88, 91, 106, 117, 120, 141, 151-2, 154, 156, 159-60, 178, 184, 199, 209, 218, 228, 236, 238-9, 241, 243, 245, 257, 265, 268, 271, 275,

280–85, 293, 301, 316, 333, 339, 342, 350, 359, 369–71, 374

iron 76, 77, 127, 175

marble 99, 106, 107, 163, 165

pearls 31, 33, 37, 56–8, 60, 61–2, 66, 75, 84, 90, 154, 156, 159, 175, 265, 274, 278, 280–81, 290, 335, 339, 359, 368–70, 372, 374

porcupine 198

quicksilver 14, 81, 365

ruby 31, 57–8, 60–61, 84, 154, 156, 159, 197, 278, 280, 290, 359, 368–70, 372–4

sapphires 84, 369

silver 12, 15–6, 32–5, 41, 53, 61–5, 70–1, 74–5, 85–6, 88, 90–91, 96, 98, 117, 151–4, 156, 159, 161, 166, 170, 177, 187, 236, 257, 265, 274, 281–2, 293, 299, 314, 329, 333, 342, 350, 359, 370, 374

snake-stones 199

topaz 84, 373

Mirobolanos quebulos, exported from India to Europe 10

Mirza Hakim 324

Mirza-Zulkarmin 326

Moka 12, 15, 91

Monkey 80, 87, 154, 178–9, 207

Baniyas threaten to leave service in Dutch Company over killing of 178

venerated 178

Monserrate, Father Antonio 347–8

views on

Akbar's civility towards Jesuit Fathers 348

appearance of Akbar 347

Moore 86, 90, 105, 111, 163, 210, 287–8, 305

Mughal 5–6, 10, 14, 46, 49, 71–2, 74–5, 78, 91, 120, 125, 134, 144, 150, 180, 195, 217–8, 220, 222, 230, 253, 292–4, 297–9, 301–4, 306, 309, 324, 326, 331–2, 338, 347, 354, 356–9, 366–8, 371–5

army 326

Emperors 71, 326, 347

jewels of 347

forces 347

polity 347

princesses 347

thrones 347

Multan, 89, 175, 221

Baniyas of 221

Khatris of 221

Sun temple at 175

trade at 89

Mumtaz Mahal 122, 357

Mundy, Peter 8, 48, 105

views on

armed resistance by peasants in Kanpur district in 1632 48

fruits of Goa 8

temple in ruins at Sidhpur, possibly destroyed by Moors 105

Mylapore 289, 311

Nagra, Brahma temple at 165

Nander, extraordinary feats of agility 68

Naples 17, 101, 325

Navarrete, Friar Domingo 70, 225

views on

all kinds of entertainers 70

Parianes 225

Nieuhof, Jan 104–5

views on

Nagapatam 104

temple near Pulicat 105

Noah 34, 111, 136

Nobili, Fr. Robert de 132, 144, 324

letter to Pope Paul Alcaid 324

views on

on his attempts to adapt to the lifestyle of caste Hindus 324

same terms as studied in Rome 132

Non-violence 183, *see also Ahimsa*

Nunes, Duarte, bishop of Dume, views on on the need to root out idolatry in Goa 321

Nuniz, Fernao 50, 65, 108, 207, 228, 248, 263, 265–6, 268, 270–73, 286

views on

a hermit's blessings 263

Brahmins acute and of much talent 207

Brahmins attend to dying 50

great engineering feat 108

Navaratra festivities at Vijayanagar, nine

castles erected, Fernao Nuniz 65
 over four thousand strong, dance, wrestle, cook, maintain accounts, also serve as astrologers, bailiffs and watchmen 228
 Sati in Vijayanagar 248
 Vijayanagar, capture of Raichur from Bijapur 286
 Vijayanagar, crime and punishment 273
 Vijayanagar, feudatories kept informed of happenings at court 271
 Vijayanagar, honouring the nobles with fans made of cow's tail; scarves, shawls, betel leaves 271
 Vijayanagar, in the reign of Achyuta Raya, everything in use in palace is of gold or silver 265
 Vijayanagar, king never wears same garments twice 265
 Vijayanagar, method of seeking justice 272
 Vijayanagar, nobles like renters 270
 Vijayanagar, size and costs tremendous 268
 Vijayanagar, the king's officers 272
 Vijayanagar, use of oil torches at night by king and nobles 266-7
 Nur Mahal 353-4, 356-7
 Olafsson, Jon 37, 75, 177, 178
 views on
 dress of royal ladies at Tanjore 37
 King of Tanjore has special apartment for cow 178
 Kusa grass, destroyer of enemies 177
 multitude of craftsmen 75
 Opium 14, 46, 80, 89, 198, 217, 274, 339
 Oppression 45, 48-9, 339
Oriente Conquistado, views on Pathashalas in Goa run by Brahmins before Portuguese advent, *Oriente Conquistado* 124
 Orissa 13, 56, 74, 144, 264, 267, 368
Ormuz 15, 34, 90, 176, 269, 273-4
 Orta, Garcia da 89, 95, 192-4, 321
 views on
 advice on use of turbit for inflammation from Malupa, a Hindu physician 193
 cholera as described 192
 contributions of Miguel Vaz, Vicar-General of

India and the Jesuit, Francis Xavier 321
 Diu port 89
 Elephanta Caves 95
 native treatment of dysentery 192
 on what he learnt from the *Gentios* 194
 patients afflicted with dysentery cured by native doctors 193
 travelling with Sultan Bahadur, in company with Dom Martim Afonso de Sousa, when the latter was taken ill with a fever 194
 use of minerals for cure 193
 Oulessor, *see* Orissa
 Ovington, J. 25, 37, 43, 97, 124, 127, 221-2, 307, 335
 views on
 Baniya women richly attired 222
 baniyas also tea drinkers 43
 Baniyas live to a good age, quick of thought 222
 Baniyas of Surat 221
 curd 43
 difference between dress of Gentiles and Moors 37
 Elephanta Caves 97
 holy ballads 25
 Indian ingenuity 25
 language of Brahmins 124
 Paper books 127
 Parsees fled from Persia with Muslim advent 307
 Ramzan at Surat 335
 wealth of Baniyas 222
 Oxen 6, 29, 30, 45, 66, 89, 151, 154, 256, 279, 284, 343
 Paes, Domingo 55, 66, 103, 107, 206, 264, 268-9, 274-6, 280, 284
 views on
 Anegundi, former capital 284
 Brahmins in charge of temples learned men 206
 city of Vijayanagar 276
 Deepavali celebrations at Vijayanagar 66
 Dussehra at Vijayanagar 55
 Hariharesvara temple, a work of rare beauty, pillars appear as if made in Italy, 103

Vijayanagar, a glimpse of the royal palace 280
 Vijayanagar, a million fighting troops always battle-ready; most feared king 268
 Vijayanagar, appearance of king 264-5
 Vijayanagar, army and state revenues 269
 Vijayanagar, a treasury kept sealed, opened only in emergencies 275
 Vijayanagar, land fertile, rice, corn, grain aplenty 274
 water tank at Hospet made by the king of Vijayanagar 107
 Pagoda 5, 23, 28, 58, 67, 95-8, 100-107, 109, 113, 125, 144, 146, 149, 151, 154-62, 174-6, 209, 245, 277, 285-6, 301
 Pais, Francis, views on, rents of the temples in the islands of Goa 323
 Palanchino 166, 169-71, 236
Palanquin 48-9, 76, 152-3, 203, 241, 268, 272, 297, 334, 338, 360
 Palm tree 6-7, 10-11, 127
Pan, *see* Betel
 Paris 109, 119, 121, 195, 259
 Seine at 109
 Val De Grace 121
 Parsees 305, 307
 belief in one supreme being 308
 do not eat beef 309
 fire worshippers 307
 fled from Persia with Muslim advent 307
 industrious 309
 live peaceably 307
 neither bury nor burn their dead 307
 way of burial 309
Patan, *see* Patna
Patane, *see* Patna
 Patanjali, Yoga 132
 Patna 12-3, 79, 186, 374
 Pecquet, Jean 195
 Pegu 12, 15, 86, 198, 315
 Pelsaert, Francisco 29, 38, 44, 47, 80, 133, 210, 217, 252, 336, 339, 351, 366-8
 views on
 bathing in Ganges 38
 belief in afterlife 133
 Brahmins good at astronomy 210
 communications in Mughal India 368
 drugs prepared in India 80
 endurance of common people 44
 houses of the rich 29
 Jahangir's passion for hunting and the courage of Anira 351
 justice in Jahangir's India 366
 marriage ceremony at Agra 336
 merchants, jewellers, workmen, brokers, 29
 method of manufacture of saltpetre 80
 Rajputs feared as soldiers 217
 Sati among Rajput in Agra 252
 wives and children of defaulting cultivators sold 47
 wives of the nobility 339
 writ of Jahangir limited 367
 Persia 7, 12, 15, 34, 63, 67, 72-4, 84, 88-9, 91, 115, 136, 164, 169, 176, 180, 211, 213, 224, 233, 259, 289, 300, 306-9, 325, 331-3, 338, 341, 354, 362, 368, 372-3
 King of 233, 325, 354, 372
 Persian Gulf 15, 84
 Ruiz, Sultan 352
 Philippines 72-3
 Philosophy 124, 126, 129, 132-3, 148, 163-4, 210
 Brahmins and 210
 idols carry message of 163
 moral 164
 six schools of 132
Piazza 112, 168-9, 171-3, 313
 Pigs 6, 13, 42, 224, 278
 Pilgrimage 147, 150-51, 154-5, 160, 166, 175, 184-5, 188, 238, 344
 centres 147, 150
 Pires, Tome 21, 25, 29, 74, 85, 191-2, 197-8, 205, 218, 223, 247, 264, 266, 270, 274, 311
 letter to King Manuel of Portugal on drugs found in India 197
 views on
 Boats of Malabar 74
 Brahmin kings of Malabar 205
 Brahmins of Malabar, strict vegetarians, bear no arms, wives chaste 205

Calicut 85
 Elephantiasis in Malabar 192
 Gujaratis excel as seamen 29
 Hindus at Goa 25
 Nairs do not marry 218
 Nairs, fighters 218
 native cures for fevers, catarrh, wounds 191
 opium 198
 Poleaa, Beitaas, Mainates, Yravas, Canjares, Canacos, Irava and Pareos of Malabar, son inherits father's property, each man has one wife 223
 Quilon 85
 reverence for teachers among Nayars 21
 Sati in Goa 247
 Syrian Christians in Malabar 311
 Vijayanagar, a vast kingdom 264, 265
 Vijayanagar, five hundred elephants, two hundred ready for war 266, 267
 Vijayanagar, much betel, Areca 274
 Vijayanagar, sea trade and ports 274
 Vijayanagar, the feudatories 270
 Portugal 15, 37, 60, 90, 195, 197, 230, 232, 313, 319-21, 324, 329
 farmers 6
 King of 37, 232, 319, 321
 Portuguese 6-7, 12-3, 15, 22, 46, 74, 84, 86, 89, 96, 98-9, 101, 124, 149-50, 161, 175, 181, 193-5, 204, 216, 219, 269, 274, 279-81, 290, 294, 305, 315-21, 323-4, 326, 343, 345, 349, 372, 374
 manners and customs 22, 324
 mission 319
 Prancudo, Father, letter to Portuguese Fathers on the attitude of Hindus of Damao 323
 Profession 60, 68, 126, 138, 202, 217-8, 233, 246, 332
 blacksmiths 45, 204, 269, 365
 brokers 29, 220, 336-7, 341
 builders 45
 carpenters 25, 90, 203-4, 223, 269, 365
 carpet-makers 45
 coppersmiths 45
 craftsmen 75, 219, 223, 278, 311
 embroiderers 45, 117
 goldsmiths 45, 77, 117, 203-4, 223
 jewellers 29, 187
 masons 45, 223, 269
 merchants 13, 29, 68, 71, 74, 79, 82-6, 89-92, 118-9, 125-6, 187, 201-2, 204, 207, 220, 242-3, 268, 273-4, 276, 278, 289, 294, 311, 317, 345
 Hindus 29
 Moslem 29
 painters 45, 117, 204
 stone-cutters 45
 tailors 45, 83, 117, 365
 weavers 45, 204, 365
 workmen 29, 45
 Purchas, Rev. Samuel 210
 views on
 Brahmins highly esteemed 210
 Jesuits think them of the tribe of Israelis 210
 Purification 38
 holding cow's tail, one can cross the river between this life and the next 134
 use of cow dung for 38
 Pyrard, Francois 12, 290-91
 views on
 daily routine of the Zamorin 291
 diet of the Zamorin 291
 greatest and most puissant king 290
 Palace and secretariat of the Zamorin 290
 Pythagoras 34, 134, 165-6, 181, 211-2, 308
 Raya, King Krishnadeva 285
 Raz, Gulshan 136
 Red Sea 15, 73, 91-2, 341
 Religion 26, 28-9, 39, 111, 124, 126, 129-30, 135-6, 144, 147-8, 155, 165, 177, 183, 185, 188, 203, 208-9, 212-3, 216, 224, 229, 243, 287, 308-9, 315, 317, 319, 321-3, 326-8, 331-2, 334, 336, 348
 Christianity 13, 28, 38-9, 43, 90, 112, 148-9, 166, 196, 204, 230, 247, 311, 314-8, 321-5, 327-8, 332, 353
 conversion 129, 135, 208, 311, 319, 321, 323, 325, 328
 Hindu 1, 22, 24, 26, 35, 67, 91, 106-7, 124, 129-32, 136, 180-81, 184, 188-90, 193-6, 205, 216, 244, 263, 304, 315, 317, 321,

344, 352
 beliefs 132, 190
 theory of maya 136
 Hindu Trinity 129–30
 Missionaries and 130
 in practice 147
 sacred rite of 177
 Rice 2, 5–6, 9, 12–4, 28, 32, 39, 41–3, 45, 49, 61, 66, 74, 88, 90, 107, 131, 142, 145, 149, 157, 160, 162, 178, 180, 183, 186, 188, 192, 202, 206–7, 209–10, 215, 221, 225, 239–41, 249, 251–2, 267, 274, 277, 279, 292, 302, 343, 360
 River 1–3, 5, 18, 28, 38, 51, 79, 81, 86, 89, 91–2, 107–8, 111, 113–4, 116, 121–2, 134, 137–9, 158, 160, 166, 175, 184, 186–8, 214, 221, 233, 237, 241, 246, 250, 257, 263–4, 276, 279, 284, 286, 294, 357
 Anegundi 250, 263, 275, 284–5
 Chenab 2, 89
 Ganges 5–6, 12–3, 38, 43, 51, 85, 111, 125, 139, 144, 150–51, 155, 157–8, 176, 183–6, 188, 214, 237, 264
 bathing in 183
 dip in 38
 Gemini 85, 111, 176
Gemna, see Jumna
Indus 2, 6, 89, 188
 Jhelum 2, 89
 Jumna 111, 114, 116, 122, 160, 187
 Nagumdy 108, 263–4, 284–5
 Narmada 92
 Nile 134
 Periyar 175
 Ravi 1, 89
 Rio Largo 175
 river festival 184
 Sabarmati 137
 Sutlej 89
 Tungabhadra 103, 284
 Roberval, Gilles Personne de 187
 Rodrigues, Gonsalves, views on Deccan 6
 Roe, Sir Thomas 44, 105, 350
 views on
 betel eating 44
 delicate grove at Todah 105
 Interview with Jahangir 350
 Roger, Abraham 107, 131–2, 154, 214
 views on
 agreement on one Supreme God 131
 Brahmins and Vedas 132, 214
 observations on Hindu temples, Vishnu and Shiva temples higher than others 107
 Tripeti, very rich temple 154
 Rome 104, 106, 132, 152, 154, 166–7, 212–3, 217, 230, 278–9, 320, 324, 326
 Roth, Father Heinrich 130
 Saffron 2, 28, 31, 34, 149, 165, 221, 258, 274
 Safi, Shah 73
 Salsette 97–8, 199, 312, 314
 power of Jesuits at 312
 Saltpetre 71, 78–81, 86
 crude 80
 method of manufacture of 80
Samori, see Zamorin
 Zamorin, see Samorin
 Sandalwood 28, 31, 50, 52, 156, 241, 258, 339
 Santidas 105–6
 Sassetti, Filippo 289
 views on
 letter to Florence 289
 Vijayanagar, destroyed city larger than Cairo 289
 Satgaon 13, 208
 Brahmins in 208
 Scehriar, Sultan 352–4, 357
 Sciavier, San Francesco 313, 314
 Selim, Sciah 111, 324, 356
 Seraglio 116, 117, 295, 326–7, 340
 Shah, Firoz 110
 Shah Jahan 4, 113, 116, 120–22, 136, 326, 332, 342, 357–8, 362, 364, 370, 372
 Shahjahanabad 118, 358
 birthday celebrations at 358–9
 Shah Jahan, father of Aurangzeb 113, 122, 357
 Shah, Muhammad Adil 294
 Shah, Sultan Abdullah Qutb 85, 287, 332,

345

Shah, Sultan Firoz 110

Shivaji 263, 292-302, 304

coronation of 302

weighed in gold 301

Siam 15, 91, 316, 317

Sidhpur 18-9, 105

Silk 5, 13, 15, 25, 31, 33, 35, 37, 45, 56, 61, 63, 71-2, 74-5, 84, 86-8, 117, 159, 172, 196, 236, 241, 260, 265, 329

carpets 71

Sin 22-3, 25-6, 50, 135, 178, 183-4, 205, 215, 252

pains and penalties of 184

Sinay, Vitula 127, 245

Singh, Raja Jai 125, 218, 299

Singh, Raja Jaswant 218, 363

Singh, Ram 299

Sitanagar 109, 175, 176

temple at 175

Sivagy, *see* Shivaji

Slave 22, 224, 235, 259, 339-40, 350, 356, 373

female 22, 340, 373

Slavery 22, 45, 341

Snake 133, 143, 179, 199, 220

solemn festival for 179

worship 179

Society 21, 25-6, 138

glimpses of 21, 25

Canarijns 27

Corumbijns 27

customs in Telengana 28

Deccanis 27

Hindus at Goa 25

Hindu society in Malabar 26

Spain 75, 193, 229, 324

Spices 14, 46, 86, 204

cardamom 14, 196

cinnamon 14

cloves 14

ginger 13-4, 39, 86, 193

kinds of 14

long pepper 14, 78, 80, 192

mace 14, 369

nutmegs 14

pepper 13-5, 78, 80, 86, 90, 192, 196, 202, 239, 274

tamarind 86

Srinagar 3, 10, 174

mountains of 10

Stephens, Father Thomas, letter to his brother 123

Stevens, Thomas, views on people at Goa 21

Strabo 22, 33-4, 165, 202

Sugar 5-9, 11-4, 29-30, 43, 74, 86, 89, 186, 189, 194, 206, 292, 337, 360, 375

Sujah 136

Sumatra 12, 15, 72, 86, 165

Surat 7, 14, 25, 67, 71, 78, 82, 89, 91-3, 108-9, 142, 176, 221-2, 235, 259, 294, 298-9, 309, 325-6, 335-8

attack on 298

Baniyas of 221

Banyan tree and its worship 176

centre of ship-building 91

gardens of 7

herbs and flowers 7

Hindu merchants ask incoming ship to sell entire cargo 91

Holi at 67

pomp and splendour of wedding procession at 235

port of 91, 92

Ramzan at 335

richest port in the world 92

ship-Carpenters at 25

sitting room 7

streight walks 7

water tank at 108

Yogis at 142

Suratt, *see* Surat

Surrat, *see* Surat

Symbology 129

Syria 74, 84, 289

Tabacco 205

Tact-Souliman 3

Tadge-Mehal, *see* Mumtaz Mahal

Tage Mehale, *see* Taj Mahal

Taj Mahal 120-22

Takht-i Suliman 3
 Tanjore 37, 178
 dress of royal ladies 37
 Tartary 5, 71, 150, 367
 Tatta 76, 77, 89, 368
 Tavernier, Jean-Baptiste 14, 16, 18, 23, 49, 71–3, 78–9, 81, 84, 86–7, 115, 120, 125, 139, 150, 155, 158–60, 177–9, 185, 198–9, 213–4, 217, 220, 223, 236, 256–7, 331, 342, 358–60, 368, 371, 373–4
 views on
 Ahmadabad, a considerable trade centre 86
 a strange penance in Bengal 139
 Aurangzeb, birthday celebrations at Shahjahanabad 358, 359
 Aurangzeb on hunt 360
 Aurangzeb, severe life-style 359
 Aurangzeb's horses and elephants 374
 Aurangzeb, size of royal guard accompanying Emperor 359
 bales of silk brought from Murshidabad to Gujarat and woven into fabrics, gold and silk carpets, satins, patolas 71
 Banaras, foreigners buy silk directly 87
 Banaras temple, among the most famous 158
 Banyan called tree of Baniyas 177
 Bezoar 198
 Brahmins at Banaras, fill Ganges water in small pots to take away 214
 Brahmins most noble of all 213
 devotion to priests 23
 diamond-cutters at Rammalakota Mines 81
 eclipse witnessed in Bengal 185
 Emperor's palace, Delhi 115
 Food placed on terraces for monkeys on Tuesdays and Fridays 178
 Girls' pagoda at Ayodhya 160
 Governor's permission required for sati 256
 Great Mughal's jewels 371
 Jagannath temple, magnificence of the temple 155
 Jai Singh's College at Banaras 125
 kinds of Spices 14
 lack of unity made them Mughal subordinates

marriage vows taken seriously, adultery rare 236
 Mathura temple, a grand temple 159
 Mughal princesses, restrictions on movement, intrigues among wives 373
 painted cotton cloths [chites] and baftas 72
 Panchamas engage in mechanical work 223
 party of Fakirs 342
 Peacock Throne 368
 peasants flee land on account of oppression in Mughal India 49
 pilgrimages undertaken in large groups, rich finance journey of poor 150
 Rammalakota diamond mines 16
 saltpetre from Agra and Patna 79
 Sati by the widows of Rama Raya of Vijayanagar 257
 Shias, Sunnis and Persian dominance 331
 Shudras, serve as foot soldiers 223
 skilled bankers, traders, merchants, teach business early to their children 220
 snake-stones against poison tested by Archbishop of Goa 199
 solemn festival for snakes 179
 spun and unspun cotton from Burhanpur, Gujarat 73
 Taj Mahal 120
 taming lions at Sidhpur 18
 Tombs at Agra 120
 trade in precious stones in Goa 84
 white cotton cloth taken to Baroda and Broach for bleaching 72
 Tavora, Lord Viceroy Dom Francisco de 325
 Temples 3, 40, 51, 58, 63, 67, 95–100, 102–6, 113, 119, 124, 132, 135, 138, 154–61, 163–76, 179, 203, 205, 211, 234, 264, 276–8, 281–6, 291
 Four Temples, Chidambaram 104
 Hariharesvara temple 103
 in Ayodhya 160
 in Banaras 158
 in Mathura 159
 in Rameshwaram 106, 161
 Jagannath temple 144, 151, 155–6, 158, 237
 Jain temple of Cintamani 105

Kailash temple 102
 Nagapatam 104
 Santidas's pagod 106
 temple of Chintaman 106
 Tirupati 151-2, 154-5
 Tyripopeliri 105
 Vithala 63, 281, 283, 285
 Terry, Edward 6-7, 17, 22, 39, 68, 91, 106, 123, 133, 181, 202, 210, 244, 251, 307
 views on
 Brahmins and philosophy 210
 elephants 17
 Ganges water 6
 heredity and caste 202
 Hindus not fearful of their wives 244
 Hindus talented and industrious 22
 Indostan written in Nagari 123
 live on herbs, milk and butter 39
 love music 68
 nature's munificence 6
 Parsees, neither bury nor burn their dead 307
 people of India 22
 play chess 68
 preferred drink 39
 sale of meat forbidden on certain days 181
 Sati voluntary, not forced 251
 souls of vile men enter bodies of beasts 133
 Surat, Great traffic to Mecca 91
 temple at Nagarkot 106
 variety of fruits 7
 Thevenot, Jean de 5, 13-4, 28, 37, 42-3, 67-8, 74, 76-7, 89, 102, 106, 109, 112-4, 122, 127, 134-6, 144-5, 148-9, 174-5, 184-5, 196, 203-4, 216, 218-9, 221, 224, 244, 246, 292, 297, 314, 333, 357
 views on
 abundant Lahore 14
 a Convent of Vartins [Jains] at Lahore 145
 Agra Fort 114
 attack on Shaista Khan's camp 297
 Aurangabad 5
 Baniya physicians of Kabul 196
 Baniyas of Multan, operate on low profit margins 221
 believe God has set a path for every one 136
 Brahmins and Gymnosopists 216
 castes, hierarchical order 204
 castes profess same religion but ceremonies differ 203
 castle at Mando [Malwa] 112
 Castle of Berampur [Khandesh] 113
 celebration of Krishna's killing of Kansa in Kabul 148
 centres of indigo production 78
 child marriage at Baglana 244
 Christians at Agra 314
 Cochin, the temple of swearing 174
 customs in Telengana 28
 Ellora, surpassing human force, 102
 Emperor Shahjahan prisoner in his palace 357
 eruption of Shivaji 292
 extraordinary feats of agility at Nander 68
 fasting 42
 fine Palanquins and chariots 76
 freedom of worship to all castes 203
 Gentile beliefs concerning Rama and Sita 149
 goldsmiths at Agra 77
 great numbers of marriages in Hindustan 244
 great reservatory at Sitanagar 109
 Holi in Kabul 67
 image of the Virgin at Bassein also venerated by Gentiles 149
 Indians imitate their ancestours 37
 Khatris of Multan 221
 leaf of the Palm-tree on which men write 127
 Mausoleum of Akbar 122
 metem-psychosis and Pythagoras 134
 Mewar Ranas belong to the race of Porus 218
 mrade at Multan 89
 Muharram in Golconda 333
 Naga Sadhus at Magh Mela 144
 Nairs claim descent from Sun 219
 no exclusive religious community 135
 Pariahs, Dhed, Halalkhor in Berar 224
 Poleas at Calicut 224
 preparation of food 43
 produce of Bengal 13
 sacrifice to the sea 184
 Sangam at Allahabad 185
 Santidas's pagod converted into a Mosque by

Aurangzeb 106
 stately tank at Daulatabad 109
 strange penance at Jagannath 144
 Sun temple at Multan 175
 temple at Sitanagar 175
 trade at Multan 89
 white cloth mingled with gold and silver at Burhanpur 74
 widow remarriage, a rarity 246
 women of the Indies fruitful 246
 Thevenot, Monsieur 305
 Tibet 2, 75, 80
 Time-reckoning 189
 Tobacco 44, 49, 224, 256, 307
 Transmigration 129, 133–5, 148, 182, 212, 258
Transmigration of Souls 134, 135, 182, 212
 Tribe 29, 134–5, 145–6, 148, 159, 183, 201–5, 210, 224, 247, 308, 319, 337, 364–5
 Valle, Pietro Della 7, 22–3, 33–5, 38–40, 44, 67, 87, 92, 108, 111–2, 124, 127, 135, 137, 163–6, 168–70, 172, 176, 181–4, 202, 211–3, 229, 233, 235, 244–6, 253, 312–3, 328, 352–3, 355–6
 views on
 Aghoreshwar [Mahadev] temple at Ikkeri 168
 appearance of queen akin to a kitchen-wench 229
 Banyan tree and its worship at Surat 176
 basic beliefs common 135
 Bazaar at Calicut 87
 betel eating 44
 Bharuch, a great centre of trade in cotton and agates 92
 Brahma temple at Nagra, formerly chief city of kingdom of Cambay 165
 Brahmins at Cambay and Pythagoras 211
 Brahmins bear no ill will towards other faiths 212
 Cambay, houses with cisterns to preserve monsoon water, great concourse of ships 87
 canonisation of Francis Xavier at Goa 313
 Courtesans rare 246
 dancing priest at Ikkeri 169
 differences due to diversity of conditions 135
 dress 33
 dress in Calicut 35
 dress in Egypt 33
 dress of Nair kings 35
 dress of swamis 34
 dress of women 34
 drinking water without touching cup 39
 dutiful ruler, comparable to Shah Abbas of Persia 233
 ethics and war rules 23
 exquisite [Jain?] temple at Cambay, idols carry message of philosophy 163
 fear of pollution 40
 Goa a priest-ridden city 312
 Hanuman temple at ghat near Garsopa 166
 Hermitage at Kadiri [near Mangalore] 172
 Hindu morality 22
 Holi at Surat 67
 hospital for birds and mice at Cambay maintained by public alms 181
 Hospitals for animals at Cambay, Muslim thief with amputated hands also given refuge 182
 Inquisitor's festival 313
 Jahangir's sons 352
 Jahangir's treatment of Prince Khusro 353
 Jesuit debate on the sacred thread 213
 Jogis at Ahmadabad 137
 Kanarese wedding 328
 Khusrau regarded a pir by Hindus and Muslims 355
 King's palace at Calicut 112
 laborious professions eat meat, Brahmins rarely 40
 Mahadev temple at Ahmadabad attracts huge crowds, Gymnosophsists 164
 matrilineal system among Nairs of Calicut 245
 multiplicity of castes 202
 Nur Jahan 356
 Palm-leaf books 127
 pomp and splendour of wedding procession at Surat 235
 power of Jesuits at Salsette 312

Queen of Carnata [Karnata, or the Kanarese country] offers her entire wealth to defend her realm 233

Queen of Olala [Ulala, near Mangalore] 229

River festival at Goa 184

Royal palace at Ikkeri 111

Sati by a drummer's widow at Ikkeri 253

Sati practiced by few 253

shedding blood greatest sin 183

Surat 7

temple and town illuminated at Ikkeri [Diwali?], king visits temple 172

Temple at Honelli, Ikkeri 166

Temple of Vratjis [Jains?] at Cambay 165

Temple procession at Ikkeri 170

use of cow dung for purification 38

village school, learning by rote 124

water tank at Surat 108

wife of Venkata Nayak [a Keladi chief of Ikkeri] sacrifices for husband 244

women rulers of Garsopa [Gerusappe], Ikkeri 229

Yogis outside temple at Cambay, proficient in arts of divination, magic, enchantment and secrets of herbs 138

Varthema, Ludovico di 17, 84, 162, 201, 266, 275

views on

castes in Calicut 201

elephants used in battles 17

Gaur 84

Vijayanagar, a scenic setting 275

Vijayanagar, fourty thousand horsemen 266-7

worship by king of Calicut 162

Varti 135, 145-6

dormitory 146

temple of 165

Vaz, Miguel, Vicar-General of India 321

Vegetables 2, 5-6, 13, 39, 42, 126, 186, 204, 207, 256, 359

Venk-tapa Naieka 173, 230, 232-3, 244-5

Vermilion 14, 179, 274

Vijayanagar 30-31, 55, 65-6, 107, 153, 206-7, 227-8, 230, 247-9, 257, 260, 263-6, 275-6, 286-8

apparel in 31

celebrations

Deepavali 66

Navaratra 65

Deyadasis at 260

dress of heathens at 30

Dussehra at 55, 65

armed forces parade 62

astounding wealth 64

chariot and horse show 60

dancing 58

fireworks 60

women richly clad 61

wrestling 58

festivities at 65

feudatories and administration 270

founding of the kingdom 263

Heathen called Bramenes 206

king of 264

military might of 266

New Year's day 66

political developments in 286

prosperity 273-4

Sati by the widows of Rama Raya of 257

Sati in 247-9

women force in 227-8

women's dress 31

Vinegar 6, 10-11, 239

Virtue 22, 233, 245

Watt, Sir George 7

Wax 62, 68, 78, 80, 96

Wedding 234-8, 240-41, 244, 250, 257, 328-9, 337

ceremonies 238, 240

Kanarese 328

procession 235

rituals 236

Wheat 2, 88, 152, 274, 279

Wine 6-7, 11, 13-4, 38-41, 49, 157, 180, 192, 196, 202, 217, 223, 245, 307, 339

Arrack 49, 204

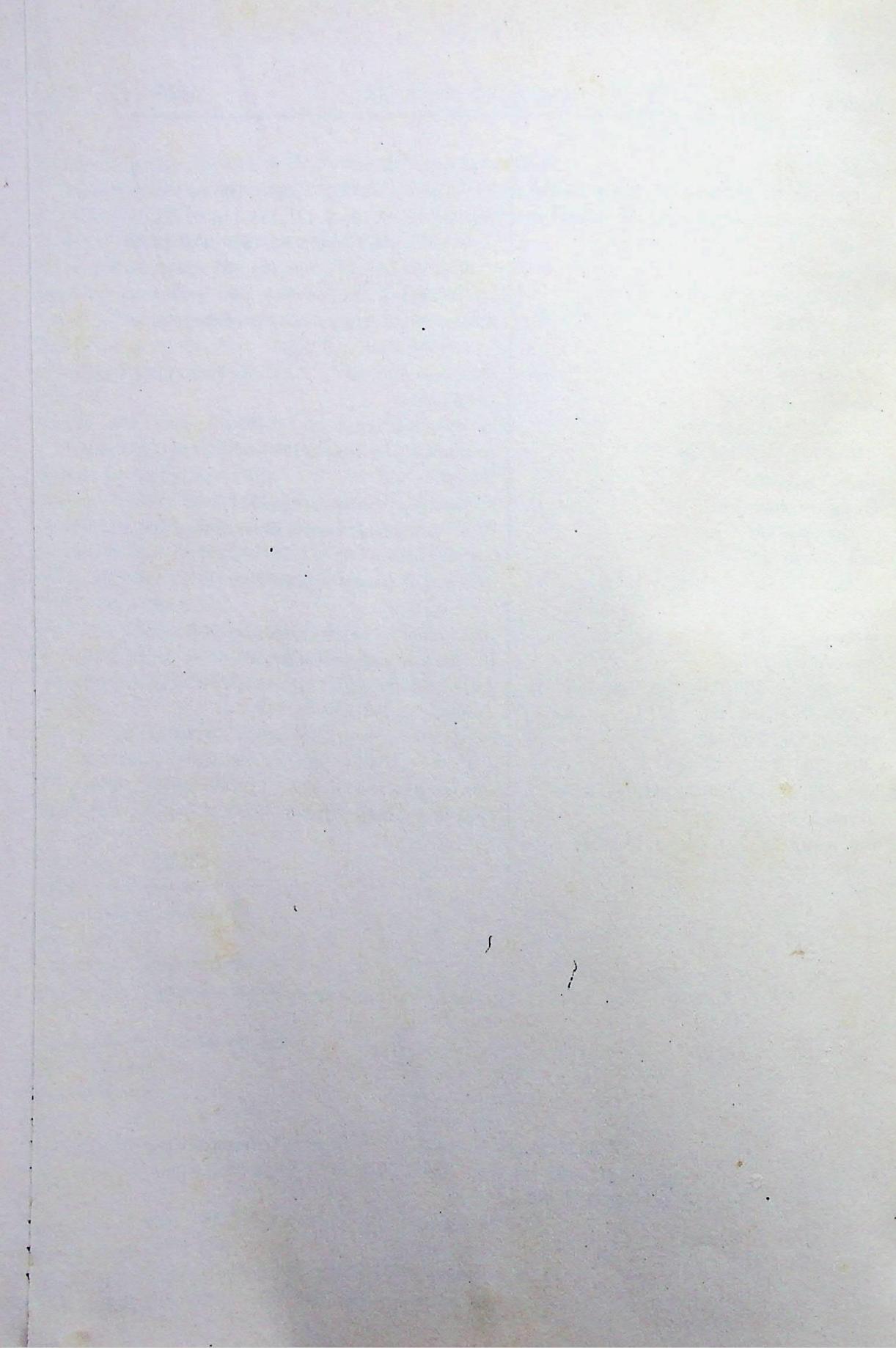
brandy 49

Claret-wine 7

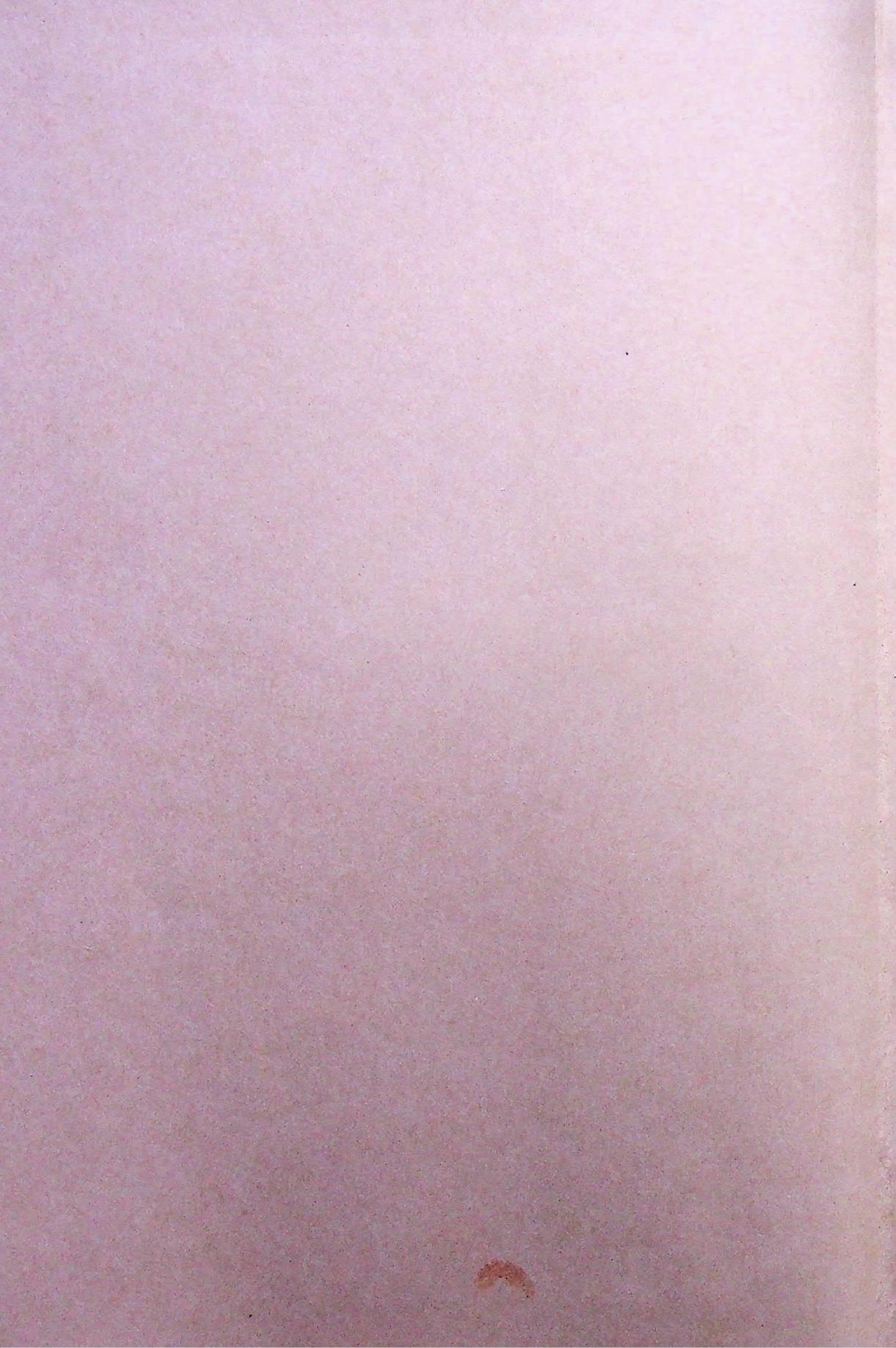
palm 180

Toddy 11, 49
Withington, Nicholas, views on Ahmadabad, merchants from various places reside here 86
Women
age for sari worn 36
Baniya 222
bindi and sindoor 32
dancing 169-71
Devadasis 227, 260
devoted to husbands 234
divorce 23, 232, 243, 366
dress 31-2, 34
favourite colour 34
ear piercing 36
four sorts of 227
Indian 35, 253
Gentile 34, 229
in the palace 228
mangalsutra 237
marriage 23, 227, 234, 236, 240, 300, 311, 328, 331, 336, 356
puberty 178, 240, 242
rulers 227, 229
Sati 227, 247-9, 251-3, 256-7
slaves 235
widow 52, 53, 227, 246-7, 253, 255, 257-60, 356
remarriage 246
Workmanship 22, 25, 75, 95-7, 100
Worship 95, 99, 106-7, 131, 135, 146-9, 154, 160-62, 165, 170, 176-80, 184, 193, 203, 206, 208, 239, 241, 260, 284, 307-8, 312, 318, 323-4, 336, 339, 344, 355
Xavier, Father Jerome, member of the third Jesuit mission 1, 47, 323
letter from Agra 47
views on
beauty of Kashmir 1
conditions in Kashmir in 1597 47
Gujarat in 1615 47
his experiences in Travancore 321
on Akbar's attitude towards Christianity 323
Xavier, Francis 208, 313, 321
letter to The Society of Jesus 208
views on
Brahmins cause of non-conversion 208
Brahmins difficult to convert 208
Zaman, Rustam 295
Zamorin 23, 263, 290-91, 319
daily routine 291
diet 291
palace and secretariat 290
Zamorin-Cochin conflict 23

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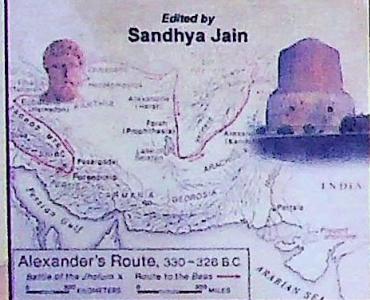


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